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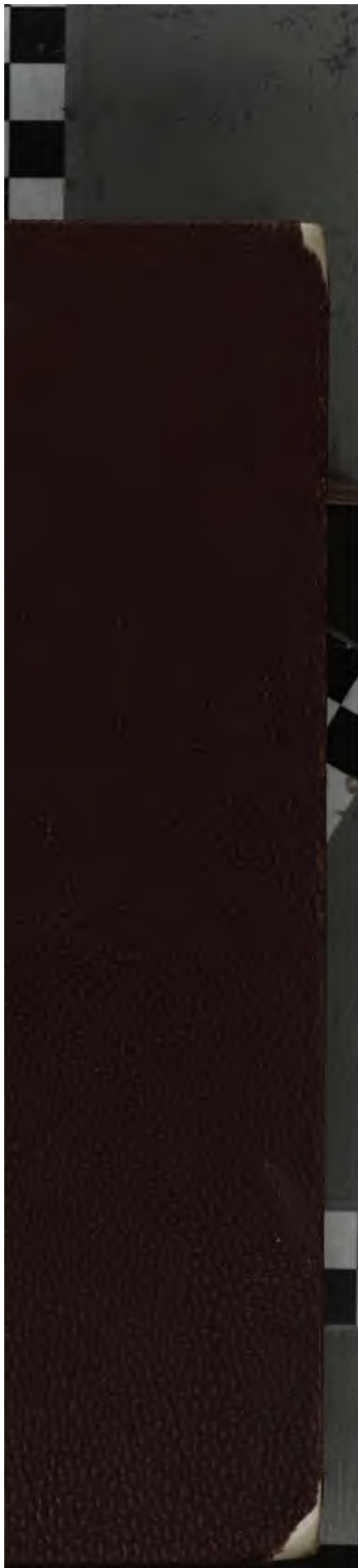
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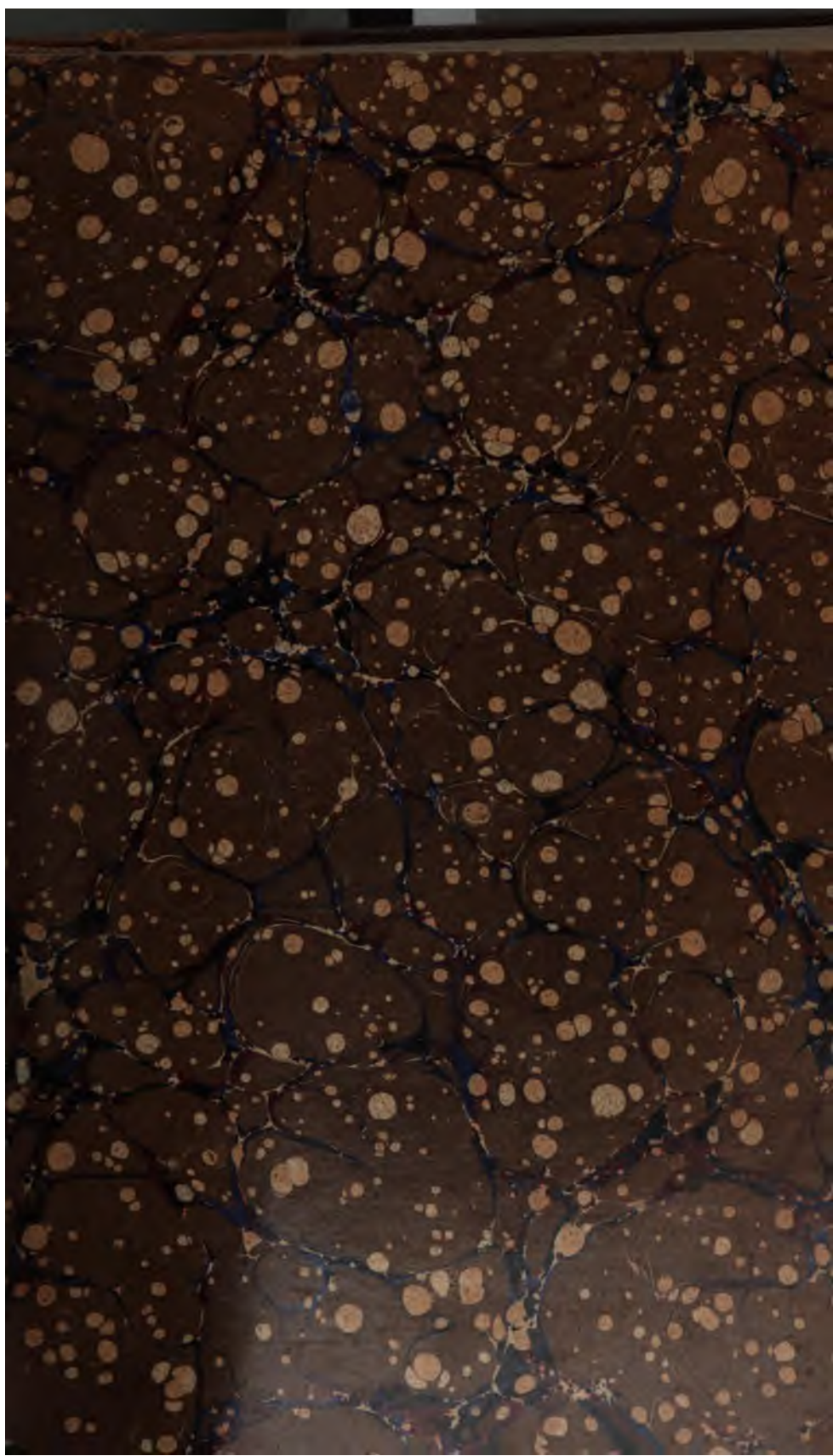


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VOL. VII.

NEW SERIES.

PART 1.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1890;

AND ACTION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE DEATH OF
VICE-PRESIDENT BANCROFT.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
311 MAIN STREET.
1891.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.

NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VII.

OCTOBER, 1890—OCTOBER, 1891



WORCESTER:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
1892.

PRESS OF
CHARLES HAMILTON,
WORCESTER,
MASS.

LIBRARY
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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NOTE.

This volume of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, being the seventh of the New Series, contains reports of the Annual Meetings in October, 1890, and October, 1891, and of the Semi-Annual Meeting in April, 1891, together with the By-Laws of the Society and Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Library, also the action of the Council on the death of George Bancroft, LL.D.

The papers by members of the Council presented in connection with the reports of the Council, are by Samuel A. Green, on The Northern Boundary of Massachusetts in its relations to New Hampshire; by George F. Hoar, on Government in Canada and the United States Compared, and by Egbert C. Smyth, on the French-Canadians in New England.

Other papers are by Edward H. Hall, Henry S. Nourse, G. Stanley Hall, Charles C. Smith, Frederic W. Putnam, P. Emory Aldrich, Charles A. Chase, James F. Hunnewell, John M. Merriam, Samuel S. Green, Thomas Chase, Herbert B. Adams, and George Baur of Clark University.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, August, 1892.

ERRATA.

Page 40, line 16, for *Carman* read *Carnan*.

Page 143, line 32, for *Elizabeth* read *Lucretia*.

Page 214, line 31, for *1871* read *1881*.

Page 227, line 33, for *4 cols.* read *11 cols.*

Page 372, line 1*n*, for *Francesco* read *Francesco*.

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BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCT. 21ST, 1881,
WITH AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.—OFFICERS.

The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, a Secretary for Foreign, and a Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, and a Treasurer, who shall be members *ex-officio* of the Council, and ten Councillors; and also a Committee of Publication and two Auditors, all of whom shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting in October, and hold their respective offices one year, and until their successors shall be elected.

ARTICLE II.—MEETINGS.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council when present, and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside; and in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, the Senior Councillor present shall preside.

The President shall see that the duties of the several offices are faithfully performed, and the Laws executed.

ARTICLE III.—SECRETARIES.

The Recording Secretary shall keep a fair record of all the doings of the Society and Council, to be deposited, when not in use, with all papers of his department, in the Library Building of the Society, in Worcester. He shall give notice of each stated meeting of the Society, by publishing the same in such newspapers in Boston and Worcester, and by such other means as the Council shall direct. But negligence on the part of the Secretary

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American Antiquarian Society.

in giving such notice, shall not prevent the holding of any stated meeting, nor render its proceedings invalid.

All letters received and copies of those written by the Corresponding Secretaries shall be preserved, and communicated by them to the Society.

ARTICLE IV.—TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall receive and keep the funds of the Society, and all books and papers relating thereto, and shall invest and manage the funds of the Society, under the direction of the Council. He shall keep accurate accounts of the same, and of all receipts and payments, subject at all times to the inspection of the officers of the Society, and shall present a copy thereof to the Council, at their meeting next preceding any stated meeting of the Society.

He shall give bonds to be approved by the Council for the faithful performance of the duties of his office, and shall receive such compensation as the Council may determine.

ARTICLE V.—THE COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the control and general management of all the property of the Society, both personal and real, and may take, release, or transfer securities for any portion of the funds of the Society, and may receive and execute deeds of real estate on behalf of the Society, and they may determine by what officer or officers deeds of the Society shall be executed.

The Council may make or authorize disbursements for current expenses and other objects of the Society, to an amount not exceeding the annual income.

Twice, at least, in every year, they shall carefully examine, or cause to be examined by a Committee appointed for that purpose, the Library, Cabinet and other property, and make report to the Society of the state of the funds, and amount and character of the investments.

They may appoint a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, and Assistant-Librarian, and such other subordinate officers and agents as they may judge necessary, allow them reasonable compensation, and prescribe such duties to them as they may think proper, not inconsistent with the laws and objects of the Society. The

officers and agents so appointed shall hold their respective offices during the pleasure of the Council. The Council may meet at such times and places as they may deem necessary, and provide for the manner in which such meetings shall be called. Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Council; they shall, at each stated meeting of the Society, make a report of their doings, which shall be subject to the control of the Society. The Council shall have power to make such rules and regulations as to the superintendence and use of the Library and Cabinet as they shall consider most conducive to the preservation and highest utility of the same.

ARTICLE VI.

[As amended April 24, 1889.]

The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held every year, at the Library Building of the Society, in Worcester, on the twenty-first day of October, and when the same falls on Sunday or *Monday*, the meeting shall be *on a day to be fixed by the Council*. The Semi-Annual Meeting shall be held in Boston every year, on the last Wednesday of April, at such place as the Council shall designate.

ARTICLE VII.

The American members of the Society shall at no time exceed one hundred and forty. No person shall be elected a member until his nomination for membership has been at least one month before the Council, nor until he has been recommended to the Society by the Council; nor shall any person be elected a member at any other than a stated meeting of the Society, and it shall require at least three-fourths of all the ballots cast to elect.

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to send by mail a written notice to every newly-elected member, of his election. And if any person so elected and notified neglects for four months to signify in writing to the Secretary his acceptance of membership, the Secretary shall report such neglect to the Council at its next meeting, and the Council shall then determine whether the name of such person shall be stricken from the list of members.

Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Recording Secretary under the direction of the President, or in his absence or inability to act, under the direction of one of the Vice-Presidents, and in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents

XII. *American Antiquarian Society.*

the Secretary may call a special meeting, upon the written request of any two members of the Council. Notice of such special meetings shall be published in the same manner as notices of the stated meetings of the Society are required to be published by the Third Article of these By-Laws.

The Society shall not, at any meeting, proceed to business unless five at least of the Council are present, but the meeting may be adjourned from time to time until such quorum shall attend.

At each stated meeting the Secretaries and Council shall report their respective doings since the last meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.

Every new member residing in the United States shall pay an admission fee of five dollars; and all members residing in New England shall pay an annual fee of five dollars. A payment of fifty dollars at one time shall exempt the member so paying from the payment of the annual fee of five dollars.

ARTICLE IX.

No new law or alteration of any of these By-Laws shall be made, unless recommended by the Council and adopted by the Society at a stated meeting.

ARTICLE X.

All By-Laws and votes of the Society inconsistent with the foregoing are hereby repealed and rescinded.

ARTICLE XI.

[Adopted Oct. 21, 1882.]

Whenever any member of the Society shall tender, in writing, a resignation of his membership, the Council may accept the same, and his name shall thereafter be omitted from the roll of members.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL AND THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LIBRARY.

THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Two members of the Council shall annually be appointed a Committee on the Library, whose duty it shall be to decide upon the details of administration, and to superintend and direct in regard to the use of the Library and its collections, subject to the approval of the Council.

THE LIBRARIAN AND ASSISTANTS.

The Librarian and Assistants shall have charge and custody of the books and collections, subject to the direction of the Library Committee, and shall administer the details of the Library to the approval of said Committee, who shall prescribe the hours for the use of books and all matters of administration.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

The Committee of Publication shall be permitted to take such books and manuscripts from the Library as they may need in order to perform the duty assigned to them by the Society, but a record of all books and manuscripts so taken shall be entered in a book prepared for the purpose, and it shall be the duty of the Librarian and Assistants to require a return of such books and manuscripts as soon as the publication for which they were borrowed is issued.

USE OF THE LIBRARY.

1. Members of the Society, on notifying the Librarian or an Assistant, are entitled to enter and remain in the alcoves and to have access to any of the rooms excepting the manuscript room.

Other persons, with a specific purpose in view, may be permitted by the Librarian, if accompanied by him or an Assistant, to enter the alcoves and have such access; only, however, for the purpose of selecting books and not of remaining at the shelves.

2. Any person who desires to use books in the Library may be furnished with volumes for consultation upon application to the Librarian or Assistants, subject, however, to the provisions of Rule 7.

3. When any book, map, chart or manuscript, shall be delivered to any one for consultation or reference, it shall be the duty of the Librarian or Assistant to make a memorandum of the title of the same and the name and address of the person applying for it, which memorandum shall be kept on file in the Librarian's room, till the return of the volume shall be duly verified.

4. All volumes or other matter issued for use in the building shall be returned to the Librarian or Assistant before the user leaves the Library.

5. It shall be the duty of the Librarian and Assistants to examine all books and manuscripts after their use in the Library, to ascertain if they are returned in as good condition as when they were given out.

6. It shall be the province of the Library Committee and of them alone, to authorize the temporary removal and use of books or articles belonging to the Society outside of the Library, and it shall also be their duty to cause a description of the books or articles thus loaned to be kept in a book prepared for the purpose, which entry shall contain a receipt for the same on the part of the borrower and also the endorsed approval of one of the Library Committee with the date of the transaction.

7. Valuable books, maps, manuscripts, charts, etc., shall be consulted only in the presence and at the discretion of the Librarian or Assistants.

8. All manuscripts belonging to the Society shall be kept under lock and key.

9. No manuscript and no part of a manuscript belonging to the Society shall be copied except on permission granted by the Council after an application in writing, specifying the manuscript or part thereof desired to be copied; and if any manuscript belonging to the Society shall in consequence of such permission

be published in whole or in part, the fact that it was obtained from the Society shall be required to be stated in its publication. But nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the publication of names and chronological memoranda without special permission.

No person shall enter or remain in the manuscript room or use the manuscripts except in the presence of the Librarian or an Assistant or of a member of the Library Committee.

10. Manuscripts of a confidential nature shall be consulted only under such regulations as may be prescribed in each case by a vote of the Council.

No maps, newspapers or books of great rarity shall be taken from the Library building except by a vote of the Council.

11. All tracts, books, maps and manuscripts belonging to the Society shall be distinctly marked as its property; and any such tract, book, etc., that may be presented to the Society shall be marked with the name of the giver and recorded as his gift.

12. A record shall be kept of all books, pamphlets or other articles presented to the Society, which shall specify the name of the giver and the date of presentation. All books presented shall be entered upon the card catalogue and placed in their proper position in the Library as soon after their receipt as possible.

In all cases the first consideration of the Librarian and Assistants in construing and enforcing the rules shall be the safety of the collection. The Librarian shall be held responsible for the strict enforcement of the rules and security of the collection and shall have the power to exclude from the Library any person whose conduct he considers objectionable or whose purposes seem foreign to those for which the Library is provided.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1890, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in the order of seniority of membership) : George E. Ellis, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, Henry M. Dexter, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Frederick W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Ebenezer Cutler, Reuben Colton, William W. Rice, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, Thomas Chase, A. George Bullock, Granville S. Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The RECORDING SECRETARY communicated the recommendation by the Council of the following-named gentlemen for membership in the Society :—

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL.D., of Ann Arbor, Mich.

Hon. RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL.D., of Fremont, Ohio.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph.D., of Providence, R. I.

And for foreign membership :—

Dr. NICOLÁS LEON, Director of the *Museo Michoacano*, Morelia, Mexico.

Councillors :

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.
Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.
Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, LL.D., of Cambridge.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.
FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven, Ct.
J. EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication :

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors :

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The report was accepted, and all the officers above-named were elected by ballot.

The RECORDING SECRETARY spoke in appreciative terms of those members of the Society, whose traces he had recently seen abroad. Of JUSTIN WINSOR, librarian of Harvard College, a member, also, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with whose credentials he is visiting Europe. He continued :—“The American window in Shakespeare’s Church at Stratford-on-Avon has been finished, and another has been begun. Bulwer’s bust is there, trying to convince men that Shakespeare was a stupid man. The Shakespeare

fountain is near, the gift of our fellow-member, GEORGE W. CHILDS. Lord Sackville, who was minister at Washington, and claims to be owner of the land on which Mr. CHILDS has placed the Shakespeare fountain, notified the City Council that unless the City paid him certain rent he would have the fountain removed. They talked about it and concluded that they would not pay rent. Then he said, 'if you will agree that I have the title paramount and could enforce the payment of rent, I will let it stand. I must have admission that I have the title or the fountain must be removed.' The Council replied that they would do neither, and the result is that our fellow-member has been vindicated by the Council of the people. I heard not infrequently our very distinguished foreign associate, Mr. GLADSTONE, in the days when he was leading triumphant majorities. It was very interesting to see him then; but it is far more interesting to see him in these days of minorities, in the days of doubtful power, standing there and dashing himself against the solid phalanx of the majority. I doubt if there is a more magnificent embodiment of soul and body than in Mr. GLADSTONE. I thought this when I saw him the last time make one of his tremendous oratorical assaults.

"His brows, black yet, and white unfallen hair
Set in strange frame the face of his despair,
And I despised not, nor can God despise,
The splendid, silent anger of his eyes.
A hundred years of search for flying truth
Had left their glowing with no gleam of youth.
A hundred years of vast and vain desire,
Had lit and filled them with consuming fire.
There through I saw his fierce immortal soul
Gaze from beneath that argent aureole." *

It was a magnificent scene. No man living to-day will ever see such a scene. A few days ago I went to see some of the peaceful associations of this grand warrior, and went down to Hawarden from Chester. I was with our associate, SOLOMON LINCOLN. We strolled about the grounds; we did the things that he was doing; we saw the trees, the

stumps, the church, the graves, Mr. GLADSTONE's prayer-book, etc."

Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, of Cambridge, read a memoir of Dr. JOHN PARK, a former member of the Society.

Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS:—"Mr. HALL's paper revives very pleasant reminiscences. I always went to see Dr. PARK when I came to Worcester. In my school days, Dr. PARK's school was on Mount Vernon street, which was then called Sumner street."

Senator GEORGE F. HOAR:—"I hope Mr. HALL will give us as ample extracts from Dr. PARK's diary as possible. That most charming portrait which he has drawn recalls to memory one of the most pleasant examples of old age that I have ever seen. Dr. PARK was full of kind and gentle ways, especially to young people. I am very glad that Mr. HALL has given us this delightful picture."

Hon. HENRY S. NOURSE read a paper on Major-General John Whetcomb, "A forgotten Patriot."

G. STANLEY HALL, LL.D., read a paper upon "Boy Life in a Massachusetts Country Town Thirty Years Ago."

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH gave a paper on "The Financial Embarrassments of the New England Ministers in the Last Century."

Prof. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM gave a brief account of the exploration of a singular ancient work on a high plateau in the Little Miami valley.

On motion of Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, all the papers which had been read, were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society have the honor to submit the following report, which, in connection with the reports of the Treasurer and of the Librarian, makes up their usual semi-annual report. They congratulate the Society on the favorable statements of both officers; and, for the condition of the finances as well as for the details of the library administration, they refer the members to the reports themselves.

During the past six months, so far as is known, death has not invaded our ranks, which is a remarkable fact, though in that period information has been received of the death of three members, which took place shortly before the last semi-annual meeting.

Martin Brewer Anderson died after a long illness, at Lake Helen, Florida, on February 25, 1890. He was a native of Brunswick, Maine, where he was born on February 12, 1815. When a boy he was apprenticed to a ship carpenter at Bath, but his thirst for knowledge impelled him to give up his chosen trade and take an advanced course of study. He entered Colby University, then known as Waterville College, where he graduated in the Class of 1840. After a year spent at the Newton Theological Seminary he was appointed to a tutorship at Waterville, which position he filled during two years, and in 1843 to a professorship, which he filled with distinguished ability during seven years. In the meantime, in the year 1842, he was chosen Librarian of the college, and he acted as such until his retirement from the institution. In 1850 he

became the editor of the *New York Recorder*, a journal since merged in *The Examiner* (New York). The editorial columns of this newspaper, coming from his vigorous pen, bore ample witness to the strength of his mind as well as to the breadth of his literary acquirements. In 1853 he was called to the presidency of the University of Rochester, where he remained during thirty-five years; and in this position he found his true calling. As President and as Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the same institution he made his mark in the class-room, teaching his branches with clearness and power, and inspiring the students with his own enthusiasm. In the year 1853 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater, and in 1883 the same honorary distinction was received from the University of New York. Mr. Anderson was married in August, 1848, at Brooklyn, New York, to Elizabeth M., youngest daughter of Julius and Alice B. Gilbert, of New York City. His wife died also at Lake Helen, on February 22, 1890, only three days before his own decease; and the two were buried together on March 4, in Rochester, New York. They "were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." Mr. Anderson became a member of the American Antiquarian Society on April 27, 1864.

Guillermo Rawson died in Paris, France, near the beginning of last March. He was a native of the city of San Juan, Argentine Republic, where he was born in the year 1821. His father was Aman Rawson, a native of this Commonwealth and a descendant of Edward, who was the Secretary of the Massachusetts Colony from May 22, 1650, till the charter was taken away. Aman served in the United States Navy during the last war with England, and soon afterward went to Buenos Ayres, and thence to San Juan, where he practised the profession of medicine. Here he married Dona Justina Rojo, the mother of Guillermo. The son followed in the steps of the father and studied

medicine; and for some years practised his profession in San Juan, where at the same time he took an active interest in the politics of his country. He always espoused the liberal side, and throughout the Republic he gained a wide reputation as a public speaker. Later he took up his abode in Buenos Ayres, where he was chosen a member both of the National House of Representatives and of the Senate, and filled many other positions of trust and responsibility. In our Centennial Year of 1876 he was sent by the Medical Association of Buenos Ayres as a delegate to the International Medical Congress, which met in Philadelphia, and during that period he visited Boston, where I had the pleasure to escort him through the abattoir at Brighton as well as through several of the hospitals within the limits of the city proper. He was much interested in sanitary science, and at one time was Professor of Public Hygiene in the Medical School at Buenos Ayres. His remains were taken from Paris to Buenos Ayres, where memorial services were held in honor of the physician and patriot. Dr. Rawson was chosen a member of the Society on April 30, 1879.

James Valentine Campbell died at his home in Detroit, Michigan, after a short illness, on March 26, 1890. He was born in Buffalo, New York, on February 25, 1823, and, when but three years old, his parents removed to Detroit, which was afterward his place of residence. He went to school at Flushing, Long Island, and matriculated at St. Paul's College in that town, where he graduated in the Class of 1841. His Alma Mater was under the control of the Episcopal denomination, but it has since passed out of existence. At the end of his college course returning to Detroit, Mr. Campbell began the study of law under the instruction of Douglas and Walker, at that time a well known firm. He was admitted to practise at the bar in October, 1844, when he formed a partnership with his former preceptors, which continued until the senior partner

was chosen to the bench. At the bar, as in every other relation of life, Mr. Campbell was remarkable for acuteness of intellect and oratorical facility, and for that breadth and exactness of knowledge, which earned him the reputation for learning that he had acquired among his professional brethren. In the spring of 1857 Mr. Campbell was elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan, and of three other justices then chosen, at the time of his death, he was the last official survivor. His term of service was the longest ever rendered by any judge of that court. Chief Justice Campbell became a member of the Society on October 22, 1877.

These three deaths among our associates have occurred in widely separated places, and all within the short space of a month, an unusual mortality for that period of time; and not one of them has happened during the last six months.

For the Council,

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF MASSACHUSETTS IN
ITS RELATIONS TO NEW HAMPSHIRE.

BY SAMUEL A. GREEN.

THE Colonial Charter of Massachusetts Bay, granted by Charles I., under date of March 4, 1628-9, gave to the Governor and other representatives of the Massachusetts Company, on certain conditions, all the territory lying between an easterly and westerly line running three miles north of any part of the Merrimack River and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and a similar parallel line running three miles south of any part of the Charles River. To be more exact, and to quote the *ipsissima verba* of the original instrument, the bounds of this tract of land were as follows:—

All that parte of Newe England in America which lyes and extendes betweene a gréat river there comonlie called Monomack river, alias Merrimack river, and a certen other river there called Charles river, being in the bottome of a certen bay there comonlie called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts bay: And also all and singuler those landes and hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the space of three Englishe myles on the south parte of the saide river called Charles river, or of any or every parte thereof: And also all and singuler the landes and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of three Englishe myles to the southward of the southermost parte of the said baye called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts bay: And also all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English myles to the northward of the saide river called Monomack, alias Merrymack, or to be norward of

any and every parte thereof, and all landes and hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the lymitts aforesaide, north and south, in latitude and bredth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the bredth aforesaide, throughout the mayne landes there from the Atlantick and westernne sea and ocean on the east parte, to the south sea on the west parte :

Without attempting to trace in detail, from the time of the Cabots to the days of the Charter, the continuity of the English title to this transcontinental strip of territory, it is enough to know that the precedents and usages of that period gave to Great Britain, in theory at least, undisputed sway over the region, and forged every link in the chain of authority and sovereignty. It has been claimed that the rights and privileges given by the contract conflicted with those already granted by the Crown to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his son Robert and to John Mason ; but I do not purpose now to enter on the discussion of that question.

At that time it was supposed that America was a narrow strip of land,—perhaps an arm of the continent of Asia,—and that the distance across from ocean to ocean was comparatively short. It was then known that the Isthmus of Darien was narrow, and it was therefore incorrectly presumed that the whole continent also was narrow. New England was a region about which little was known beyond the slight examinations made from the coast line. The rivers were unexplored, and all knowledge concerning them was confined to the neighborhood of the places where they emptied into the sea. The early navigators thought that the general course of the Merrimack was easterly and westerly, as it runs in that direction near the mouth ; and their error was perpetuated inferentially by the words of the Charter. By later exploration this strip of territory has since been lengthened out into a belt three thousand miles long. It crosses a continent, and includes within its limits various large towns of the United States. The cities of Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Detroit and Milwaukee all lie

within the zone. There have been many social and commercial ties between the capital of New England and these several municipalities, but in comparison with another bond they are of recent date, as the ground on which they stand was granted to the Massachusetts Company by the Charter of Charles I., more than two hundred and sixty years ago.¹

Through this misapprehension in regard to the course of the Merrimack River, there have arisen certain disputes over the boundary line between the adjoining States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which are not yet settled even in our time. The royal grant comprised a large tract of land, which was then a dense wilderness, situated outside of Christendom. After the lapse of some years the settlers took steps to find out the territorial boundaries of the Colony on the north in order to establish the limits of their jurisdictional authority. To this end at an early day a Commission was appointed by the General Court, composed of Captain Simon Willard and Captain Edward Johnson, two of the foremost men in the Colony at that time. Captain Willard was a native of Kent, England, and came to Massachusetts in the year 1634. He lived first at Cambridge and Concord, then at Lancaster, from which town about the year 1671 he removed to Groton, and in all these places he exerted a wide influence. In his day he filled various civil offices, and was a noted military man, holding a major's commission. His farm in Groton was situated at

¹ Some of the early records of the Massachusetts Company are printed in the "*Archæologia Americana*" (iii. 1-107) of this Society; and on page 103 of the copy there is a singular error in the reading of a word in the original text. It occurs in the Company's second Letter of Instructions to Endicott and his Council, where reference is made to "Hookes, Lynes, knives, bootes and Barrells." An examination of the original manuscript in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds shows the last quoted word to be "Barvells." According to the *Century Dictionary*, now in the course of publication, this word means "a kind of leather apron,"—an article that might well go with the other items mentioned. It is correctly given in the "*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*" (i. 404), as edited by our late associate, Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, as well as in the "*Suffolk Deeds*" (i. xviii), where it is again printed.

Nonacoicus, now within the limits of Ayer; and his dwelling-house was the first building burned at the attack on the town, March 13, 1676, in Philip's War. During several months previously Major Willard had been engaged with his command in scouting along the line of frontier settlements and protecting the inhabitants. At this assault he came with a company of cavalry to the relief of the town, though he did not reach the place in time to be of service in its defence. He died at Charlestown on April 24, 1676, a very few weeks after Groton was abandoned. Major Willard was the ancestor of two presidents of Harvard College, and of our late associate, Joseph Willard, Esq., who for twenty years was one of the Councillors of this Society.

Captain Johnson, the other Commissioner, was also a Kentish soldier, and at the date of his appointment a member of the General Court. He first came to New England with Governor Winthrop during the summer of 1630, though at that time he did not tarry a great while; but a few years later he returned with his family, and remained until the time of his death. In the early Colonial Records his name appears always with the prefix of "Mr.," which shows that he was a man of property and social position. He was actively engaged in the settlement of the town of Woburn, where he held both civil and ecclesiastical offices. For more than twenty-five years he represented the town in the House of Deputies, and for one year was the speaker. He was the recorder of the town from the date of its incorporation until his death, which took place on April 23, 1672. At the present time he is known mainly by his *History of New England, a quaint work entitled "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England,"* which was first published in the year 1654. It contains many facts concerning the early settlement of the country not found elsewhere, and forms an important addition to our historical literature.

Such were the two men constituting the Commission, who

were to interpret the meaning of the Charter in reference to the northernmost boundary of the Colony, and to say where the line should be drawn. They derived their authority from the action of the General Court, found in the records as follows :—

The 31th of the 3^d moth. 1652 on pvsall of o^r Charter it woos this day voted by the whole court That the extent of the Line is to be from the Northermost part of y^e Riuer Merimacke & Three miles more North where it is to be found be it an hundred miles more or less from the sea & Thence vppon a streyght line east & west to each sea & this to be the True interp^tatiō of the Termes of the Lymitte Northward granted in the Patent (III. 347)

ffor the better discouery of the North Line of o^r pattent It is ordred by this Court That Capt. Symon Willard & Capt. Edward Johnson be appoynted as Comissione^{rs} to pcure such Artists & other Assistants as they shall Judge meete to goe with them to find out the most Northerly part of Merimacke Riuer & that they be supplied with all manner of nessessaryes by the Treasurer fitt for this Journey & that they vse theire vttmost skill & abillitie to take a true obseruation of the Latitude of that place & that they doe it with all Convenient speed & make returne thereof to the next session of this court (III. 353)

The order appointing the Commission, just given, was passed on a day subsequent to May 31, 1652, although, in the printed edition of the Colonial Records, it appears to be of that date. In the early history of Massachusetts the proceedings of the General Court, as a rule, are not dated day by day,—though there are many exceptions,—but the beginning of the session is always given, and occasionally the days of the month are also given. These dates in the printed edition of the Colonial Records are often carried along without authority, at times extending over a period of several days, or even a week or more; and for this reason, in some instances, it is impossible to learn the exact date of particular legislation, unless there are contemporaneous papers bearing on the subject. The vote and the

order, as found in the records, are separated by six manuscript pages, which would imply several days of ordinary business between the passage of the two. It will be seen that the Commissioners were empowered, under the order, to engage "such Artists & other Assistants," as were needed for the purpose. In early times a surveyor was called an artist, and in old records the word is often found with that meaning. Under the authority thus given, the Commissioners employed Sergeant John Sherman, of Watertown, and Jonathan Ince, of Cambridge, to join the party and do the scientific work of the expedition.

Sergeant Sherman was a land surveyor, and a prominent inhabitant of Watertown. He was often chosen a selectman, and for many years the town-clerk, besides being several times elected to the Legislature. He was the great-grandfather of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the ancestor, on his mother's side, of the junior Vice-President of this Society.

Jonathan Ince, the other "artist," was a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1650, who, after taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, remained at Cambridge for more than three years. During this period he appears to have been acting in various capacities connected with the institution, and, like an undergraduate, he was regularly charged for the usual small items in the college accounts. In a certain way he was the confidential clerk of President Dunster, and at the date of his appointment by the Commission he was filling the butlership of the College, a position which placed him in charge of the commons. A few years afterward,—according to our late associate, the Reverend Dr. Joseph Barlow Felt, in his "Ecclesiastical History of New England" (II. 163),—the Apostle Eliot wrote a letter to the Treasurer of the Missionary Corporation, in which he recommended Ince "as a godly young man, a scholar who hath a singular faculty to learn and pronounce the Indian tongue."

The two surveyors were allowed "a daily stipend of ten shillings in the best pay of the country"; and it is known that the whole party proceeded up the Merrimack River by boat as far as the outlet of Lake Winnepisaukee. The expedition consisted of eight or ten men, including several Indian guides or "pilatts," and started, it is supposed, from some place in what is now Lowell, probably above Pawtucket Falls. When they reached the confluence of the two rivers in the present town of Franklin, New Hampshire, they followed up the eastern branch, as being at that season of the year the larger stream, and soon they came to the outlet of the lake, at The Weirs. In this neighborhood the Commissioners considered the source of the river to be; and in their report made a few weeks later to the General Court they gave it "the name of the head of Merremack." The place has now been called for many years "The Weirs," so named from the fact that the Indians, from very early times, had weirs set in the stream at this point for the catching of fish. It is a spot very favorable for the purpose, as it is the only outlet to the lake, and all the water within this large body flows through a narrow channel into the river. Through the clear and limpid water the remains of these weirs are still distinctly seen at the bottom of the lake, where they have rested for many generations. Near by there is now a small settlement, a favorite spot during the summer season for Old Soldiers' reunions, camp meetings and conventions, as well as a resort for tourists. This village is known as The Weirs, and comes within the township of Laconia.

In October, 1652, the Commissioners made a return to the General Court, giving the result of their labors, and including the affidavits of the two surveyors. According to this report they fixed upon a place then called by the Indians "Aquedahtan" as the head of the Merrimack River. By due observation they found the latitude of this spot to be $43^{\circ} 40' 12''$; and the northern limit of the patent

was three miles north of this point. Their report is as follows:—

Captajne Symon willard & Captajne Edward Johnson a comittee Appointed by the last Gennerall Court to procure Artists to Joyne wth them to finde out the most Northerly part of Merremacke Riuer Respecting the lyne of our Patent having procured Sarjeant John Sherman of water Toune & Jonathan Ince student at Harvard Colledge as Artists to goe Along wth them made their Retourne of what they had donne and found. viz John Sherman and Jonathan Ince on their oathes say that at Aquedahtan the name of the head of merremack Where it Issues out of the lake called winnapuscakit vppon the first day of August one thousand sixe hundred fifty two wee observed and by observation found that the Lattitude of the place was fourty three degrees forty minutes and twelve seconds besides those minutes which are to be allowed for the three miles more North which runn into the lake In witnes whereof they have subscribed their names this nineteenth of october one thousand sixe hundred fifty and two Ju^r. Cor me Jn^o Endecot. Guber^r.

Jn^o Sherman. Jonathan Ince.

The sajd Comissioners brought in their bill of chardge which they expended & pmised on & to those that went that Journey to finde out the most northerly part of merremacke which was twenty eight pounds twelve shillings and tenn pence which the Court allowed and ordered that the psons concerned should be sattisfied out of the Rate according as they were pmised And further doth Order the Treasurer to Sattisfy to Captajne willard and Captajne Johnson twenty markes a peece for their pajnes:/:¹

(General Court Records, IV. 103.)

Lying on the bed of the stream, near the outlet of the lake, and projecting above the surface, is a large granite bowlder running north and south, perhaps seven feet long, which is a conspicuous object as seen from the shore. For a guess, it is a hundred feet from the western bank, and a hundred and twenty-five feet from the eastern bank; and at low water, even before the stone was raised, it was always uncovered. This rock caught the eye of the Commis-

¹ A mark is an old English coin, valued at 13^s 4^d sterling, or about \$3.22.

sioners, and at once was taken by them as the head of the Merrimack; and, in token of their official authority, it was marked on the upper surface with the following letters:—

 EI SW
WP IOHN
ENDICVT
 GOV

These letters are roughly cut, but with moderate care can easily be made out. From the action of the elements and the discoloration by time, their edges are somewhat worn, but they are still fairly distinct. They are about four inches in height, though they vary somewhat, and are read from the west side of the rock. The initials in the first line are those of the two Commissioners, Edward Johnson and Simon Willard, while the rest of the inscription gives the name of the Governor of Massachusetts at that period. Without doubt the letters "WP" stand for Worshipful, a title of dignity given in early times to persons of high official station. Formerly the boulder, now known as the Endicott Rock, was somewhat lower in the bed of the stream, and its upper surface was exposed for the most part during the summer season only, but about six years ago it was raised two or three feet and blocked underneath, so that the inscription cannot now be covered by water. The Rock was considered at that time to be of so much public interest that the Senate and House of the State of New Hampshire, on September 7, 1883, passed a joint Resolution, appropriating the sum of \$400 for its better preservation and protection; and under this authority the raising was done. These changes appear to have been suggested first in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," July 26, 1850, by a correspondent who signs himself "F. J."¹ A crack or split, made perhaps at the time of the raising, passes through the long diameter of the stone; and in order to

¹ A misprint in the newspaper for "F. I.," the initials of Frederic Ingham, the pseudonym of our associate Rev. Dr. Hale, who wrote the article.

protect it further, a large iron bolt has been put through the short diameter, with heavy nuts screwed on at each end. Its dimensions, speaking roughly, are seven feet in length, six feet in width, and five feet in height. The boulder is situated on the property of the Winnepissiogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company, who use the lake as a storage basin, and in dry season draw upon it for a supply of water. About ten years ago, with due foresight, this Company had seven casts in plaster taken of the inscription. One of these was given to the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on March 12, 1881; another to the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology at Cambridge; a third to the New Hampshire Historical Society; a fourth to the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, whose office is in Lowell; a fifth to the Essex Company at Lawrence; a sixth to the Winnepissiogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company at Lake Village; and a seventh to the Long Island Historical Society at Brooklyn.

It is somewhat singular that the existence of this inscription and of the Rock as a memorial stone should have been lost sight of for more than a century and a half, and entirely forgotten, as is the fact. The letters were cut either in July or August, 1652; and there is no subsequent allusion or reference to them until they were brought to light anew in a letter of Colonel Philip Carrigain written to John Farmer, Esq., the antiquary. This communication is printed in the "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society" (IV. 194-200), and gives some interesting details in connection with the discovery. The volume was published in the year 1834; and the letter, which is undated, was written near that time, probably in the autumn of 1833. A dam was made across the outlet to the lake, in order to clear the channel so that a steamboat—then recently built—might pass to a winter harbor at Lake Village five miles below. During the excavation the rock and inscrip-

tion were first noticed by Daniel Tucker, Esq., and Mr. John T. Coffin, President and Cashier, respectively, of the Winnipisiogee Bank at Meredith, and by them reported to Colonel Carrigain, who hastened to visit the spot, and who promptly communicated the discovery to Mr. Farmer, then a member of this Society. At that time The Weirs came within the limits of Meredith, as Laconia had not yet been set off as a separate township. It is an interesting fact to note that Colonel Carrigain, in his letter, first suggested that the stone be called the Endicott Rock, a name by which it has since been known.

On the second day of last August, during a very delightful drive through parts of Vermont and New Hampshire, in company with the Honorable George Lewis Balcom, of Claremont, I visited this interesting boulder. It is situated a short distance below the railroad station, and just above the bridge leading from The Weirs to the other side of the river, and easily accessible by a boat. The stone is the earliest public monument found within the limits of New England which was made by the English settlers, and as such is worthy to be kept in mind. For nearly two centuries and a half the inscription has battled the storms of all seasons, and now bids fair to withstand them for ages to come. The State of New Hampshire showed a due regard for right sentiment when she made an appropriation to preserve and protect such an historical relic.

The northern boundary of the original grant to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as has been shown, was based on a misapprehension; and this ignorance of the topography of the country on the part of the English authorities afterward gave rise to considerable controversy between the adjoining Provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. So long as the territory in question remained unsettled, the dispute was a matter of little practical importance; but after a time it led to much confusion and assumed grave proportions. Grants made by one Province clashed with those

made by the other ; and there was no ready tribunal to pass on the claims of the two parties. Towns were chartered by Massachusetts in territory claimed by New Hampshire ; and this action was the cause of bitter feeling and provoking legislation. Massachusetts contended for the tract of land "nominated in the bond," which would carry the jurisdictional line fifty miles northward, into the very heart of New Hampshire ; and, on the other hand, that Province strenuously opposed this view of the case, and claimed that the line should run, east and west, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River. In order to settle these conflicting claims, a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the subject and establish the contested line. The Commissioners were selected from the Councillors of the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, Nova Scotia, and Rhode Island,—men supposed to be free from any local prejudices in the matter and impartial in their feelings ; and, without doubt, they were such. The Board—as appointed under the Great Seal—consisted of nineteen members, although only seven served in their capacity as Commissioners. They met at Hampton, New Hampshire, on August 1, 1737 ; and for mutual convenience the Legislative Assemblies of the two Provinces met in the same neighborhood,—the Assembly of New Hampshire at Hampton Falls, and that of Massachusetts at Salisbury, places only five miles apart. This was done in order that the claims of each side might be considered with greater despatch than they would otherwise receive. The General Court of Massachusetts met at Salisbury in the First Parish Meeting-house on August 10, 1737, and continued to hold its sessions in that town until October 20 inclusive, though with several adjournments, of which one was for thirty-five days. The printed Journal of the House of Representatives, during this period, gives the proceedings of that body, which contain much in regard to the controversy besides the ordinary business of legislation. Many years previously the two

Provinces had been united, so far as to have the same Governor,—at this time Jonathan Belcher,—but each Province had its own legislative body and laws. Governor Belcher was a native of Cambridge; and in the discussion of these matters his prejudices and sympathies appear to have been with Massachusetts. To a disinterested person, one hundred and fifty years afterward, it seems as if the Trojan and Tyrian had not been treated by him with the same discrimination.

The Commissioners heard both sides of the question, and agreed upon an award in alternative, leaving to the King the interpretation of the charters given respectively by Charles I., and William and Mary. Under one interpretation the decision was in favor of Massachusetts, and under the other in favor of New Hampshire; and at the same time each party was allowed six weeks in which to file objections. Neither side, however, was satisfied with this indirect decision, when the whole matter was taken to the King in Council. Massachusetts claimed that the Merrimack River began at the confluence of the Winnepisaukee and the Pemigewasset Rivers, and that the northern boundary of the Province should run, east and west, three miles north of this point. It is true that this line was somewhat to the southward of the one proposed by the Colonial Commissioners in the summer of 1652; but at the time of the dispute the relative size of the two rivers was better understood. On the other hand, New Hampshire claimed that the intention of the Charter was to establish a northern boundary on a line, running east and west, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack River. In this controversy Massachusetts seems to have based her claim on the letter of the contract, while New Hampshire based hers on the spirit of the contract.

The strongest argument in favor of Massachusetts is the fact that she had always considered the disputed territory as belonging within her jurisdiction; and before this period

she had chartered twenty-four towns lying within the limits of the tract. These several settlements all looked to her for protection, and naturally sympathized with her during the controversy.

To offset this statement in favor of Massachusetts, I will give the following extract from "A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North-America" (Boston, 1749), a work written by Dr. William Douglass. The author was a noted physician of Boston during the last century, of whom it was once wittily said that he was always positive and sometimes accurate:—

A few Years since, the General Assembly of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, was in the Humour of distributing the Property of much vacant or Province Land; perhaps in good Policy and Foresight, to secure to the *Massachusetts* People, by Possession, the Property of Part of some controverted Lands; accordingly it came to pass, that upon a royal Commission from the Court of *Great-Britain*, to determine this Controversy, the Jurisdiction but not the Property was allotted to *New-Hampshire*, or rather to the *Crown* (I. 424).

As just stated, neither party was satisfied with the verdict of the Royal Commissioners, and both sides appealed from their judgment. The matter was then taken to England for a decision, which was given by the King on March 4, 1739-40. His judgment was final, and in favor of New Hampshire. It gave that Province not only all the territory in dispute, but a strip of land fourteen miles in width lying along her southern border—mostly west of the Merrimack—which she had never claimed. This strip was the tract of land between the line running east and west three miles north of the southernmost trend of the river, and a similar line three miles north of its mouth. By the decision many townships were taken from Massachusetts and given to New Hampshire. It is said that the King reprimanded Governor Belcher for the partisan way in which he pre-

sented his side of the case, and this fact may have biassed his Majesty. The settlement of the disputed question was undoubtedly a public benefit, although it caused at the time a great deal of hard feeling.

In establishing the new boundary west of the Merrimack, Pawtucket Falls—situated at the present time in the city of Lowell, and near the southern portion of the river's course—was taken as the starting-place; and the line which now separates the two States was run west three miles north of this point. It was surveyed officially in the spring of 1741, with reference to the settlement of the dispute according to the King's decree. Concerning the boundary east of the Merrimack there was but little controversy, as the river was a good guide in the matter, although there were a few minor points under discussion. After the King's decision was rendered, the question of expense came up in regard to the surveys and the marking of the line. It seems to have been generally understood that the entire cost of these preliminary steps should be borne by the Province of Massachusetts, but Governor Belcher did not so regard it; and this misunderstanding caused further delay in the settlement of the dispute. George Mitchell was appointed to make the survey from the Atlantic Ocean to the point three miles north of Pawtucket Falls, afterward known as the Boundary Pine, though now the tree has disappeared; and Richard Hazen from the Boundary Pine to the Hudson River. Mitchell worked from a fixed line, as he had to establish a boundary three miles from the Merrimack; but Hazen was to run a straight line through the wilderness with the help of only a compass, —a much harder task than Mitchell's.

Surveys dependent on the compass are always subject to many sources of inaccuracy, —such as the loss of magnetic virtue in the poles of the needle; blunting of the centre-pin; unsuspected local attractions; oversight or mistake as to the secular variation; and variability from the influence

of the sun, known as the diurnal variation. Error from the diurnal variation may amount, in the distance of a mile, to twenty feet or more of lateral deviation. Notwithstanding these difficulties and drawbacks, the accuracy of Hazen's survey has been confirmed to a remarkable degree; and the controversy over the boundary line has been wholly in regard to the variation of the needle which Hazen allowed in making the survey. His *Journal*, fortunately, has been preserved, and is printed in "*The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*" (XXXIII. 323-333) for July, 1879. It shows the hardships he encountered and the obstructions he met during the progress of the survey, which was begun on March 21, 1741, and ended at the Hudson River, on April 16. In less than four weeks he established a straight line one hundred and nine miles long through an unbroken wilderness, when the ground a large part of the way was covered with snow. At one place, he writes: "The Snow in Generall was near three feet Deep, & where we lodged near five"; and in many other places the snow was between two and three feet deep.

According to the *Journal*, the surveyors began to measure the line, running three miles due north from the Merrimack, at a place called "The Great Bunt," near the Pawtucket Falls, now in the city of Lowell. This spot lay on the west side of the mouth of Beaver Brook, and was once a noted fishing-ground. Formerly, before the dam was built, the Falls covered a longer stretch of the river than they do at the present time; and a hundred and fifty years ago the entire course of the rapids was probably included under the name of Pawtucket Falls. The designation of "The Great Bunt" has now disappeared from the local nomenclature of that neighborhood, though some of its cognate forms were kept up for a long time. When the same line was re-surveyed in the summer of 1825, it began at a point called the "great pot-hole place," which was presumably the same spot under another name. "Bunt" is a

nautical word applied to the middle part or belly of a sail, as well as to the sag of a net, and perhaps allied to "bent"; and it requires no great stretch of the imagination to see why a cavity or hole in the river was called a "Bunt."

The boundary line between the two Provinces, as established by Hazen, ran straight through the wilderness, over hill and dale, across fields and pastures in a sparsely settled country, frequently cutting off large slices of towns, as well as of farms, and sometimes bisecting them, and suddenly transferring the allegiance of the people from one political power to another. To the plain and sturdy yeomanry it seemed a kind of revolution, which they could not understand. In many instances they were taxed for their lands in adjoining towns, where previously the tax had been paid wholly in one town; and much confusion was created. Even to-day many of the border farms overlap the boundary and lie in both States, and often the owners cannot say exactly where the line should run. A man living near the line once told me that he had paid taxes on the same parcel of land in two different towns, — one in Massachusetts and the other in New Hampshire. Another man living in close proximity to the line has told me during the present autumn that he could not say within several rods where the boundary came. Ordinarily, in agricultural districts, State lines divide the social and religious relations of a community with an edge nearly as clean-cut and distinct as that which separates the political relations. In a great measure the average family is more intimate with those who go to the same religious meeting and with those who belong to the same political party, because there is so much in common between them. But this state of affairs does not hold good to the same extent among the people living along the northern boundary of Massachusetts and the southern boundary of New Hampshire; and I attribute the fact largely to the continuity of local traditions and to the common origin of the original settlers of the neighborhood.

By the new line the following Massachusetts towns between the Merrimack River and the Connecticut, in their geographical order, lost portions of their territory:—

First, Dunstable, a large township originally containing 128,000 acres, and lying on both sides of the river, was so cut in two that by far the larger part came within the limits of New Hampshire. Even the meeting-house and the burying-ground were separated from that portion still remaining in Massachusetts, and this fact added not a little to the animosity felt by the inhabitants when the disputed question was settled. It is no exaggeration to say that throughout the old township the feelings and sympathies of the neighbors on both sides of the line were entirely with Massachusetts. A short time before this period the town of Nottingham had been incorporated by the General Court, and its territory was taken from Dunstable. It comprised all the lands of that town lying on the easterly side of the Merrimack River; and in a great measure the difficulty of attending public worship led to the division. When the new line was established it affected Nottingham, like many other towns, most unfavorably. It divided its territory, and left a tract of land in Massachusetts too small for a separate township, but by its associations and traditions belonging to Dunstable. This tract to-day is that part of Tyngsborough lying east of the river. The larger portion of the town, by the new line, came under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire; but as there was another town of Nottingham in the eastern quarter of that Province, the name was subsequently changed by an Act of Legislature, on July 5, 1746, to Nottingham West; and still later, on July 1, 1830, this was again changed to Hudson. Counting the city of Nashua, there are in the State of New Hampshire at the present time no less than seven towns made up wholly or in part of the territory which was taken from Dunstable by the running of the line.

Secondly, Groton, though suffering much less severely

than Dunstable, lost more land than she cared to spare, lying now mostly in Nashua, though a small portion of it—not much larger than a good-sized potato patch—comes within the limits of Hollis, near the railroad station.

Thirdly, Townsend was deprived of more than one quarter of her territory; and the present towns of Brookline, Mason, and New Ipswich in New Hampshire are enjoying the benefit derived from it.

Fourthly, two of the Canada townships, so called,—now known as Ashburnham and Warwick and Royalston, the last two not at that time incorporated as separate towns,—shared the same fate as the other towns lying along the new line. Ashburnham lost a thousand acres; and Warwick and Royalston, then called “Canada to Roxbury,” or “Roxbury Canada,” a considerably larger slice of land.

Fifthly and lastly, Northfield was deprived of a strip of its territory more than four miles and a half in width, running the whole length of its northern frontier. This portion of the town is now included within the limits of Hinsdale and Winchester, New Hampshire, and of Vernon, Vermont.

Besides these losses a tract of unappropriated land, usually denominated Province land, was transferred to New Hampshire.

On the easterly side of the Merrimack, between the river and the ocean, there had always been much less uncertainty in regard to the divisional line—as, in a general way, it followed the bend of the river—and therefore much less controversy over the jurisdiction.

At the period when the new line was established it was generally thought that the question was permanently settled, but such did not prove to be the fact. Early in the present century, owing to the uncertainty of the line at that time, public attention was again called to the subject. It was claimed by the State of New Hampshire that, in establishing the boundary, Hazen had allowed too many degrees for the variation of the needle, and consequently the

line had been carried too far north, or, in other words, that there was a narrow gore of land lying along the northern boundary of Massachusetts, and coming within the limits of that State, which rightfully belonged to New Hampshire. It was further said that Governor Belcher was responsible for this allowance in the variation of the needle, and that he had given instructions to Hazen to allow this variation in order to circumvent the decree of the King, and to defraud New Hampshire. Fortunately, to refute this charge, the warrant given to Hazen by the Governor is still extant, and shows that no such directions were given; and furthermore, if such directions had been given, it would have added as much territory on the eastern boundary of New Hampshire as was lost by that State on the southern boundary.

In order to settle the disputes at this period between the citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and those of the State of New Hampshire, the Governor of Massachusetts was authorized by a Resolve of the General Court, on February 24, 1825, to appoint three Commissioners, who were empowered to meet similar Commissioners appointed on the part of New Hampshire; and they were jointly authorized to agree upon such principles respecting the running of the boundary line as to them should seem just and reasonable. Under this authority Lieutenant-Governor Marcus Morton, at that time Acting Governor, in consequence of the death of Governor Eustis, named on May 10, as Commissioners the Honorable Samuel Dana, of Groton; David Cummings, Esq., of Salem; and Ivers Jewett, Esq., of Fitchburg; and they were met by the Honorable Samuel Bell, Henry B. Chase, Esq., and Samuel Dinsmore, Esq., who had been named as Commissioners by the Governor of New Hampshire. Caleb Butler, Esq., of Groton, was appointed Surveyor on the part of Massachusetts, and Eliphalet Hunt, Esq., on the part of New Hampshire; and each one was supplied with an Assistant Surveyor. Under the management of these gentlemen the line was re-surveyed from the Atlantic Ocean to the Connecticut River, but, owing to dis-

agreements between the two Boards of Commissioners, no final conclusions were reached. The Report of the Massachusetts Commission was made to the Governor on January 31, 1827, and that of the other Commission was previously made to the Governor of New Hampshire; and they each recommended practically, though not *totidem verbis*, that the whole matter be indefinitely postponed, as no satisfactory result was likely to be reached at that period.

Nothing further was done by either State looking to the settlement of this vexed question until very recent times. On April 25, 1883, a Resolve was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, authorizing the Governor to appoint a Commission for the purpose of establishing the boundary line between the two States, which was to act in conjunction with a similar Commission to be appointed by the Governor of New Hampshire. The Commissioners were to reset and replace the monuments wherever necessary, in accordance with the Report of the Commissioners of the Commonwealth made on February 28, 1827. Under the authority of this Resolve, the following Commissioners were appointed: De Witt Farrington, Esq., of Lowell; Alpheus Roberts Brown, Esq., of Somerville; and Clemens Herschel, Esq., of Holyoke. The first two members of this Board were duly qualified, but the third declined. From the want of co-operation on the part of New Hampshire no definite result was reached, and no Report was made to the General Court, as provided for in the Resolve. On June 19, 1885, another Resolve was passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, authorizing the Governor to appoint a Commission for the purpose of ascertaining and establishing the true jurisdictional boundary line between the two States, which was to act with a similar Commission to be appointed by the Governor of New Hampshire. This Resolve repealed and superseded all previous legislation on the subject; and a new Commission was appointed, consisting of Henry Carter, Esq., of Bradford; George W. Cate, Esq., of Amesbury; and Nelson Spofford, Esq., of Haverhill. The make-

up of this Board was soon changed by the resignation of Mr. Spofford, who was at once appointed surveyor on the part of Massachusetts, and his place filled by George Whitney, Esq., of Royalston. Soon afterward, Mr. Cate resigned, and the vacancy was filled by Edward B. Savage, Esq., of Haverhill.

The Commissioners appointed on the part of New Hampshire were: the Honorable John James Bell, of Exeter; Nathaniel Haven Clark, Esq., of Plaistow; and Charles H. Roberts, Esq., of Concord. The Chairman of the New Hampshire Commission is a member of this Society, and often honors the meetings by his presence.

Each of these two Commissions has presented to the Legislature of its respective State two reports, which are models for clearness and conciseness, and show a thorough investigation of the whole subject; but unfortunately they do not agree in regard to the disputed line. It is understood that they have reached definite and satisfactory conclusions respecting the boundary between the ocean and the Merrimack River; but between this river and the Connecticut they do not concur. So far as that portion of the line is concerned, the matter remains *in statu quo*.

At the present time it does not seem likely that the boundary line between the two States, as it runs from the Merrimack River to the Connecticut, will ever be substantially changed; but perhaps the day may come when it will be definitely marked by monuments on every road, so that the dwellers along the border will know exactly where it lies. For generations the public sentiment of the neighborhood has placed the disputed territory within the limits of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the occupants of the land have always claimed that State as their home. In their opinion they are citizens of Massachusetts, and no judgment based upon the decree of a king, rendered a hundred and fifty years ago, can dispossess them of their birthright. The customs and traditions, that have strained through a century and a half, in their case make a law on this point stronger than any human enactment.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1890.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds April 1, 1890.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,166.40.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1890, was \$109,444.00, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,485.09
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,789.80
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,499.43
The Publishing Fund,.....	22,178.46
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,626.02
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	3,023.62
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,092.29
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,646.41
The Alden Fund,.....	1,233.81
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,292.40
The George Chandler Fund,.....	515.32
The Francis H. Dewey Fund.....	2,201.64
Premium Account,.....	676.96
Income Account,.....	1,166.40
Subscription to Stevens's "Facsimiles".....	16.35

\$109,444.00

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$911.53.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1890, is as follows :

DR.

1890.	April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$8,315.38
"	Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	3,448.40
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	155.00
"	"	Received for life assessment (J. N. Brown,)	50.00
"	"	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	175.50
"	"	Received payment on mortgage notes,	2,150.00
"	"	Subscription to Stevens's " Facsimiles "... ..	50.00
			<hr/>
			\$14,344.28

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1890,.....	\$1,478.02
By expense of repairs,.....	42.55
By printing "Proceedings".....	382.26
Books purchased,.....	317.04
For binding,.....	86.60
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	462.63
For Stevens's "Facsimiles,".....	63.65
For Insurance,	100.00
Loans on Mortgage Notes,	10,500.00
	<hr/>
	\$13,432.75
Balance in cash October 1, 1890,	911.53
	<hr/>
	\$14,344.28

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1890,.....	\$39,588.10
Income to October 1, 1890,.....	1,187.64
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00
Life assessment,.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$40,975.74
Paid for salaries,.....	\$928.02
Incidental expenses.....	462.63
For Insurance,.....	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,490.65
Balance October 1, 1890,.....	<hr/>
	\$39,485.09

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$18,649.58
For books sold,	153.00
Income to October 1, 1890,	559.48
	<hr/>
	\$19,362.06
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	572.26
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1890,	\$18,789.80

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$6,394.21
Income to October 1, 1890,	191.82
	<hr/>
	\$6,586.03
Paid for binding,	86.60
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1890,	\$6,499.43

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$21,893.43
Income to October 1, 1890,	656.79
Publications sold,	10.50
	<hr/>
	\$22,560.72
Cost of printing "Proceedings,"	382.26
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1890,	\$22,178.46

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$1,680.31
Income to October 1, 1890,	50.40
	<hr/>
	\$1,730.71
Paid for books,	104.69
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1890,	\$1,626.02

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$2,985.56
Income to October 1, 1890,	88.06
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1890,	\$3,023.62

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$1,090.27
Income to October 1, 1890,	32.70
	<hr/>
	\$1,122.97
Paid for books,	30.68
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1890,	\$1,092.29

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$4,552.30	
Income to October 1, 1890,	136.57	
	<u>\$4,688.96</u>	
Paid for repairs,	42.55	
Balance October 1, 1890,		\$4,646.41

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$1,246.42	
Income to October 1, 1890,	37.39	
	<u>\$1,283.81</u>	
On Account of Cataloguing,	50.00	
Balance October 1, 1890,		\$1,233.81

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1890,	150.00	
	<u>\$5,150.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00	
Balance October 1, 1890,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$1,319.73	
Income to October 1, 1890,	39.56	
	<u>\$1,359.31</u>	
Paid for books,	66.91	
Balance October 1, 1890,		\$1,292.40

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$529.93	
Income to October 1, 1890,	15.30	
Books sold,	12.00	
	<u>\$557.22</u>	
Paid for books,	42.50	
Balance October 1, 1890,		\$515.32

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance April 1, 1890,	\$2,137.52	
Income to October 1, 1890,	64.12	
Balance October 1, 1890,		\$2,201.64

Total of the thirteen funds,		\$107,584.29
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,		676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		1,166.40
Subscriptions to Stevens's "Facsimiles,"		16.35
October 1, 1890, total,		<u>\$109,444.00</u>

1890.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 894.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,234.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	480.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	550.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,352.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	762.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	715.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	6,026.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,498.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,650.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$23,000.00	\$30,291.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,200.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	750.00
BONDS.			
	Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,210.00
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,720.00
	Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,240.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	5,041.00
	Chicago, Santa Fé & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	2,600.00
	Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	51,250.00	51,250.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,482.47	3,482.47
	Cash in National Bank on interest.....	911.53	911.53
		\$109,444.00	\$119,696.00

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1890.

Respectfully submitted,

NATHL PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1890, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

A. GEORGE BULLOCK.

October 18, 1890.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

Six months of marked activity have passed since my last report, during which time, with the aid of the Salisbury Building Fund, under direction of the Library Committee, better accommodations for our increase of treasures have been afforded. Early in July the lower main hall was shelved on the east and west sides to conform to the shelving on the north and south. Our large, classified collection of text-books which has for years been in double tiers on portable shelves, now occupies with the added accumulation of the past ten years, the newly shelved east side of the lower hall. The furnishing of such hand-books by the State has greatly reduced the recent receipts of this material. It is as true now as in April, 1852, when Mr. Haven in his library report said, "The school books of former days are the representatives of obsolete systems of education, and their coarse and dingy paper and blotted wood-cuts are vivid illustrations of the condition of the mechanic arts, and their progressive changes are annals replete with information to the student of intellectual philosophy." The transfers already made to the hall below have somewhat relieved the overcrowded condition of the north lobbies above. In order to increase our sense of security from danger by fire, it has been thought wise to place the Worcester Fire Appliance Company's, chemical fire-pails in various parts of the building. This Society's earliest and latest administrators have agreed as to the necessity of making its hall as safe a repository for American history as circumstances will allow.

Since the April meeting, your librarian has been notified by the Smithsonian Institution that "The increasing demand for its annual reports and its inability to supply these on account of the limited number of copies furnished by Congress, render it necessary to economize in their distribution and to withdraw as a rule from its lists those libraries which have been designated as Public Depositories of Documents and which receive at present two copies of the report; one through the Department of the Interior and a second directly from the Institution." Three facts were submitted in our behalf, and have been considered of sufficient force to cause the retention of our name as heretofore, namely: that the accumulations of Smithsonian duplicates for forty years, were sent last year to head-quarters for re-distribution; that this Society early furnished valuable papers for the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge"; and that aside from our regular set of government reports we have an alcove devoted to learned society publications in which a set of the Smithsonian publications is preserved. It may be added that our general system of re-distributing our duplicate documents of learned societies and institutions continues to work to our and doubtless to their advantage.

The invaluable character of our early newspaper files has many times been proved since my last report, notably by Mr. George O. Seilhamer in the preparation of material for his work on the American Theatre, two volumes of which have already been issued from the press.

I note for record the fact that the moulds taken by Mr. Edward H. Thompson from a façade of a temple at Labna, Yucatan, the portal of which is in our Salisbury annex, were on the 9th of July transferred to the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, where undoubtedly the whole façade will be reproduced as a larger specimen of the ancient architecture of Yucatan.

In my report of two years since reference was made, by

way of illustration, to the mythical Mother Goose, her age, nationality and work. In connection with the renewed interest in the good dame created by Mr. William H. Whitmore's recent issue in facsimile of our founder's edition of her *Melody*, the following paragraphs from a letter dated May 21, 1890, from the Bodleian Library in reply to Dr. Samuel P. Langley's letter to Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale, November 3, 1888,—which letter was appended to the Librarian's remarks,—ought perhaps in strict justice to appear in our Proceedings:

“The gentleman who supposes that John Marshall, the publisher of *Mother Goose's Melody* and other children's books, is identical with J. M. who printed from 1696 to 1706 or later, is certainly wrong. John Marshall was a contemporary and rival of Newbery and his partner Carman, and published children's books during the latter half of the 18th century and beginning of the present. Our 32mo. *Mother Goose's Melody* has for imprint, London: | Printed and sold by John Marshall, No. 4 | Aldermary Church Yard, Bow Lane, and No. 17 | Queen-Street, Cheapside. | [Price Three Pence, Bound and Gilt.] It is undated, but I should put it approximately at about 1780. The 12mo. edition has quite a modern look and is printed on good stout paper, which upon examination I find water-marked ‘Hooker & Son 1803’! It however does not contain so much as the earlier edition, having only 45 cuts instead of 51, and Marshall had removed to 140 Fleet Street. The contents of the earlier 32mo. edition are identical with Thomas's, but some of the pieces towards the end are somewhat differently arranged. The cuts are very similar, with the addition of a frontispiece representing a family group at lessons. There are 92 pp. followed by a list of children's books sold by John Marshall.”

Our sales and exchanges have been, as heretofore, carefully conducted. One of the most valuable additions to the library since the last report is a thirteenth century manuscript *Biblia Sacra*, which will be found in one of our exhibition cases by the side of similar specimens of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was procured by exchange with

one of our New York correspondents, after it had passed the ordeal of an examination by an expert at the British Museum. The work, which is apparently by one person, is upon the finest of vellum, was probably executed in England, and contains a great number of initial letters with a beautiful rubrication of the Book of Psalms. Several steps were necessarily taken in the securing of this treasure, but the means were supplied, as already intimated, by our duplicate room, a fact which should be suggestive to our members and friends.

The usual statement of the number and sources of accessions follows:—*gifts*: three hundred and seventy-one books; thirty-five hundred and forty-eight pamphlets; eight volumes of bound and one hundred and fifty-eight of unbound newspapers; two framed and seventy-five unframed engravings; fifty-three confederate certificates; seven photographs; four coins; one medal; and one lithograph stone; *exchanges*: thirty-one books; and thirty-seven pamphlets; *bindery*: one hundred and twenty-three books; and four volumes of newspapers; *total*: five hundred and twenty-five books; thirty-five hundred and eighty-five pamphlets; twelve bound and one hundred and sixty-one volumes of unbound newspapers, etc.

The gifts have been received from two hundred and ninety-three sources, viz.: from forty-eight members, one hundred and thirty-eight persons not members and one hundred and seven societies and institutions. Special mention is herein made of a few of our members and friends.

Judge P. Emory Aldrich's gift includes the English *Antiquary*, a magazine devoted to the study of the past, for which he has subscribed that it may be placed upon our shelves. Hon. Horace Davis has added to our collection of early California directories and State documents, material which may be as useful to Prof. Josiah Royce in the preparation of a second volume on California as

his previous gifts of a like character were in the preparation of the first. The valuable additions to the Davis Spanish-American alcove are a reminder of the Society's early interest in that class of literature. William Lincoln said in the Council Report of May 29, 1839, "At the earliest time when it shall be possible, there should be placed on the shelves Lord Kingsborough's edition of the work of Augustine Aglio, the folios of Frederic de Waldeck on the Antiquities of Mexico, the ruins of Palenque and the Archæology of Central America, and those other rare or recent works which illustrate the history of the southern continent." Fourteen years later, in the Librarian's Report of October 24, 1853, appears the following: "Another most liberal donation made to the library since its removal, is that of Lord Kingsborough's celebrated history of Mexico in nine folio volumes. This costly publication was purchased and presented by the Hon. Isaac Davis who, on a suggestion of the desirableness of possessing so important a work, volunteered at once to procure it at his own expense." Thirty-seven years later the Isaac Davis fund provided us not only with the Waldeck and the Catherwood but with other rarities, so that our gratitude is of the present as well as of the past. An editorial in the *Library Journal* of September, 1890, says: "In a recent volume on the *Anthology of South America*, the claim was made that its literature was far richer and more worthy of study than that of the United States." Hon. Andrew H. Green's first gift after the acceptance of membership was John Bigelow's "Life and Writings of Samuel J. Tilden." I hardly need add the well-known fact that Mr. Green is one of the executors of the estate, so large a portion of which Mr. Tilden intended to devote to the establishment of a free library or free libraries in the great metropolis. To Dr. George H. Moore we are indebted not only for a copy of Moodey's rare *Artillery Election Sermon* of 1674, but also for aid in the sale of a volume

of early Massachusetts Laws. Others of our members who have special literary interests may serve the Society in much the same way. It is proper to add that our duplicates are carefully classified upon our shelves and that the title slips are always subject to call. We have received from President Salisbury with other valuable material, framed engraved portraits of his grandfather, Stephen Salisbury, from the painting by Stuart, and an excellent one of himself. These with that of Ex-President Salisbury, all engraved by Stuart, have been hung in the office for your examination. Vice-President Hoar's semi-annual gift, which is always large, includes important western history; and volumes of the Congressional Record to complete our set. The gift of Henry W. Taft, Esq., of the Publications of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, to which he is a contributor, reminds us that historical societies covering a valley, a county or a town, as well as those covering a whole State, are fast taking root, and that our members have been influential in their formation. Mr. William B. Weeden has presented his "Economic and Social History of New England," of whose historic and antiquarian interest too much can hardly be said; and Mr. Henry Adams, his history of the first term of Madison's Administration; while the Haven Fund has supplied Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America. Such works with their abundance of foot-notes are of special value to the librarian as well as to the scholars whom he serves. Mr. J. Fletcher Williams has again drawn genealogical books from his own library that he might strengthen ours. The five volumes of Stevens's facsimiles subscribed for by our President, Vice-President Hoar and Councillor Davis, are now ready for your inspection. Mr. Stevens says in his supplemental prospectus: "The first group of five volumes contains the 1775 Petition of Congress to the King, and about 560 unpublished documents in private archives not examined by the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts. These State Papers

are now for the first time placed at the disposal of historical students. They open up two important subjects,—Secret Intelligence and the Conciliatory Bills of 1778.” We have a special interest in another paragraph which says: “The next group of five volumes will carry forward the proceedings of the Commissioners under the Conciliatory Bills and will probably finish the Secret Intelligence. They will open the important correspondence from 1776 of the American Deputies in Paris, the diplomatic relations with the American, French, Dutch and Spanish officials and much commercial and political intelligence from merchants and private parties concerning America and American affairs. These are the principal subjects dwelt upon by the English agents and correspondents in the Secret Intelligence.” I cannot but believe that the American Antiquarian Society will eventually possess the remaining volumes, however many there may be, chiefly because they are “Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America.” Messrs. William W. Backus of Norwich, Conn., and Charles Gill of Montreal, P. Q., have sent us the results of their genealogical studies, though no portion of their work was done in our library. From the careful editor Dr. Charles J. Hoadly we have the “Colonial Records of Connecticut 1775–1776”; from his Honor Mayor Edward F. Johnson of the new city of Woburn, Mass., the “Records of Births, Deaths and Marriages from 1640 to 1673”; and from Mr. Franklin P. Rice, with the continuation of his Worcester Records, his excellent guide-book, modestly called a “Dictionary of Worcester and vicinity.” Mr. Benjamin W. Kinney has made a second contribution to our portfolios of engraved heads, and with it presented the lithograph stone from which was produced the lithograph of his father’s design for a monument to Ethan Allen. In thanking Mr. Francis H. Lee of Salem for a photograph of the Public Library building at Petersham, I take the liberty of expressing a librarian’s gratitude for his labor in securing for that

hill town so charming a library home. Dr. Arthur McDonald of Clark University has deposited a copy of his "Recent Criminological Literature" as a reminder of work pursued somewhat at length in our library; and Mr. Henry M. Wheeler and Mr. Frank S. Blanchard historical and biographical books of recent date, for service rendered. Rev. George F. Clark has added to his previous gifts of periodicals the *Woman's Journal*, 1884-1889; Rev. Edmund S. Middleton a small numismatic collection; and Mrs. Ellen A. Stone numerous books and pamphlets with some twelve hundred numbers of newspapers selected from her carefully prepared manuscript lists. We have received both from the author Mr. James C. Pilling and from Mr. Wilberforce Eames, who has rendered him much valuable assistance, the "Bibliographic Notes" on Eliot's Indian Bible and his other translations in the Indian language. The aid which this Society has necessarily given in the preparation of this work is cheerfully acknowledged therein.

At the request of Miss Caroline M. Hewins, who prepared for the September meeting of the American Library Association an important report on gifts and bequests, a partial index to bequests and gifts, of money, land, buildings, books, etc., from the formation of this Society was furnished by the librarian. An examination of this list is instructive, reminding one not only of Lydia Maria Child's saying, that "The Past has done much for thee and has given the Future an order upon thee for the payment," but also of Renan's remark that, "We do not know how grateful we should be to those who take the trouble to be rich for us." From a somewhat careful study of the records of Donations, I feel confident that not more than one-eighth of the Society's treasures have been received by purchase and possibly another eighth by exchange, leaving the remainder as gifts.

In my report of April, 1889, bare mention was made of the Thomas Wallcut gift. The following facts regarding

it are now submitted, partly because the interesting history of its acquisition appears in librarian C. C. Baldwin's Diary, but chiefly because no printed acknowledgment has ever been made of a collection which may safely be called second only to that of our founder. Mr. Baldwin's entries need little if any comment. He says: "July 30, 1834. There was a meeting of the Council of the Antiquarian Society this evening, and I communicated to them my good fortune in having prevailed upon the venerable Thomas Wallcut of Boston to present our Library with his collection of pamphlets and newspapers. The Council thereupon directed me to proceed to Boston, and bring his bequest to Worcester." In obedience to the foregoing order Mr. Baldwin took the mail stage August 1, 1834, to within thirteen miles of Boston at which point his diary reports "I saw for the first time a railway car. What an object of wonder! It appears like a thing of life. The cars came out from Boston with about a hundred passengers, and performed the journey which is thirteen miles, in forty-three minutes. I cannot describe the strange sensations produced on seeing the train of cars come up. And when I started in them for Boston, it seemed like a dream. I blessed my stars that such a man as Robert Fulton had lived to confer on his fellow mortals an improvement so valuable as his application of steam engines to driving boats, and that this had suggested the application of the same power to moving carriages on land." After this interesting digression there follows: "I called upon the Rev. Robert F. Wallcut, nephew of our benefactor Mr. Thomas Wallcut, and he agreed to show me the collection of his uncle in the morning." The following day, August 2, he writes: "I called upon Mr. Wallcut this morning, who lives in Columbia Street, and he went with me to India Street, where the pamphlets &c. of his uncle were deposited. They were in the fourth story of an oil store kept by C. W. Cartwright and Son. The value of the rarities I found soon made me forget the heat, and I

have never seen such happy moments. Everything I opened discovered to my eyes some unexpected treasure. Great numbers of the productions of our early authors were turned up at every turn. I could hardly persuade myself that it was not all a dream, and I applied myself with all industry to packing lest capricious fortune should snatch something from my hands." August 3, he writes: "I arrived at four and not finding the store open where my pamphlets were deposited, I wandered about the city and visited different book-stores. At seven I had access to the garret of my oil store and I resumed my labors with fresh fury. One of the first things that gladdened my eyes was the forty-first year of the Diary of the never-to-be-forgotten Cotton Mather. It was perfect and in good condition, and the first page contains an account of a young lady's having asked him to marry her! After several fasts and plenty of prayers for divine direction in such an embarrassment he wrote her a letter declining her suit." August 4, he says: "I finished packing my things today and helped load them. I cannot but think it is the most valuable collection of the early productions of New England authors in the country. As to the number of the pamphlets; there must be ten thousand of them at least." I add the following from Mr. Haven's Library Report of April 30, 1856: "The most considerable donation from any one out of the Society is that of forty-seven volumes, that were formerly a part of the library of the late Thomas Wallcut. For this gift we are indebted to his nephew Mr. Charles J. Stratford of Blackstone. In this case, as usually happens in the distribution of libraries of long standing, we find books which being out of print and not easy to be obtained, have acquired from that circumstance a greatly enhanced value. Some are standard works, often referred to even now; others are the productions of American authors in prose and verse that have become obsolete and are generally forgotten but which the Messrs. Duyckinck

who have recently published their 'Cyclopædia of American Literature' would fully appreciate."

It not infrequently happens that while giving library material to others, we receive needed light for our own guidance. During a critical examination of one of the Cotton Mather diaries, Mr. Barrett Wendell made an interesting discovery which is best stated in the following extract from his letter of July 10, 1890: "In reading the Diaries of Cotton Mather preserved in the library of the Antiquarian Society, I came across a note of his which I think may be of interest to you; and perhaps deserve a place in some of your published Proceedings. The matter it settles—the number and names of his children—is of no particular importance, but inasmuch as even Sibley in his 'Harvard Graduates,' gets it wrong; and Drake in the genealogy printed in the Hartford edition of the *Magnalia*, which bears the date 1855, gets it wrong too, it becomes interesting as a curiosity. It confirms the statement on pp. 13, 14 of Samuel Mather's life of his father. (Boston, 1729)." Mr. Wendell writes again September 14, "My notes of the diaries of Cotton Mather enable me to send you, in addition to the copy of the record on the back of his diary for 1713, which I sent some weeks ago, the dates I enclose." The names and dates as received appear in the following table of Cotton Mather's children.

- =Abigail, born before 1692; died, 1692.
 - Katharine, born before 1692; died, 1716.
(unmarried.)
 - =Mary, born before 1692; died, 1693,
 - =Increase, born 1693; died, 1693.
 - Abigail, born 1694 (?); died, 1721.
(married Daniel Willard.)
 - Mehetabel, born 1695 (?); died, 1696.
 - Hannah, born 1697; survived him.
(unmarried.)
 - Increase, born 1699; died, 1724.
(unmarried.)
 - =Samuel, born 1700; died 1700.
-

Elizabeth, born 1704 (?); died 1726.

(married Edward Cooper.)

Samuel, born 1706 (?); survived him.

(married Hannah Hutchinson.)

=Nathaniel, born 1707; died, 1707.

=Jerusha, born 1711 (?); died, 1713.

= { Eleazar, } born 1713; died, 1713.

= { Martha, }

On our diary the double hyphen indicates deceased before or during 1713, and the entry "of 15, dead 9, living 6," confirms the record as found by Mr. Wendell. At the end of the list is the modest statement: "*Quos mihi indignissimo Deus dedit Filii Filiaeque.*"

A manuscript addition to our archives which is even older than that noted by Mr. Wendell, is the deed of the "eight miles square" which originally constituted the town of Leicester, now kindly presented to the Society by Miss Elizabeth P. Thornton. It bears the library stamp of her father, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., who was a faithful member of this Society from his election April 25, 1855, until his death June 6, 1878. This "Indian Deed of the Township" appears in the appendix to Emory Washburn's History of Leicester, with occasional errors and omissions. It is probable that Governor Washburn did not see the original deed, but used the recorded copy. Whether the original was imperfectly recorded, or the copy inaccurately made, is uncertain, but it has seemed to your librarian important that a careful copy—possibly a facsimile—should now be made from the original, and printed with our Proceedings. I note the fact that while the spelling in the deed has been exactly followed in the copy herewith submitted, the old forms of j and s have not been used. The deed follows:

"Know all men by this preasenc that We the Heirs of Oaraskaso Saichen of a place Cauled Towtaid sittuating & lying near the nue towne of the English cauled Woster with all others which may under them belong into the sain plaice Aforesaid Towtaid theas Hears being two women with ther Husbands nuely married which being by name

cauled Philip Tray with his wife Momekhue & John Wamscon & Waiwaynom his wife for divers good causes & considerations us thar unto moving and more espashaly for & in consideration of the sum of fifteen pounds curant monye of Nuengland to us in hand payd by Joshoa Lamb Nathanell Paige Androw Gardner Benjamin Gamblin Benjamin Tucker John Curtis Richard Draiper & Samwell Ruggls with Ralph Broadash of Roxbery in the County of Sufolke in Nuengland the Receipt of which we doe hearby Acknowledg our selves toe be fully satisfyed & paid haven Given Granted Bargained Sould Alinated Enfefed & Confirmed & by theas preasence doe fully freely & absolutly give grant Bargain sell Alinat enfef & Confirme unto the said Lamb Paige Gardener Gamblin Tucker Curtis Draiper Ruggls with Bradash thaer Heairs & Assigns a certain tracte of Land containing by esteamation eight miels square Sittuating lying & being near Woster Afore said Abutting Southerly upon the Lands of Joseph Dudley Esqr laitylly purched of the Indians & Westerly the most Southermost Corner upon a littell pound cauled Paupokquomcok then to a hill cauled Wekapekatounow & from thence to a litell hill cauled Mossonachues & so unto a great hill caulled Aspomscock & so then Easterly apon a lien untell it coms Against Woster Bounds & Joains unto ther bownds or howso ever otherwais butted and bownded together with all and singuler the Rights Commonities libertyes priviledgs & Apertances whatsoever to the saime belonging or however otherwies appertaining to have & to hould the said tract or parsell of Land Scituating Containing & bounding as Aforesaide to the said Lamb Paige Gardener Gamblin Tucker Curtis Draiper & Ruggls with Broadash their heirs & Assigns in common tenancye to their only proper use behoofe & bennefit for ever And the said Philip Tray & Momekhow & John Wamscoon & Waiwainom their wives with all others under them as Aforesaid Doe Covenant promis & grant for themselves heirs Exceeketers & Admenestrators to and with the said Joshoway Lamb, Nathanell Paige, Androw Gardener, Benjamin Gamblin, Benjamin Tucker, John Curtis, Richard Draiper & Samwell Ruggls, with Ralph Braidash their heairs & assigns that they will the above Granted & bargined lands & everie part and parsell theirof with their and every parson and parsons whatsoever claiming anye Right or title ther unto or

interest therein from by or under us in wittness whair of the said Philip Tray & Momekhue & John Wamscon with Waiwainom being their wives have hearunto set their hands & seal this twenty seventh Day of Janwary, Anno Dowminy One thousand Six hundered Eighty & Six. Signed sealed and delivered in presenc of us

Tom Tray	○	his mark	○
John Magu	/		○
Nossowano	∞	his mark	○
Captin	∫	John Mooqwo	his mark
Androw	?	Pitteme	his mark
Philip Tray	○	his mark	○
Momekhue	—	Tray	her mark
John Wamscon			○
Wawanom	X	Wamscon	her mark
Mandowamag	¶	the deacon	his mark
Jonas	his	○	wives mark

Philip Tray & Momekhue his wife, Wawanom wife of John Wamscon & Wandowamog all personally appearing before me underwritten one of his Maj'ties Council of the Territory & Dominion of New England June 1st 1687 did acknowledge this Instrument to be their Act and Deed.

William Stoughton.

The history of this ancient document I have thus far been unable to follow. Upon the back is written, probably late in the eighteenth century, "Deed from Indians to Josh: Lamb &c. for Land near Worcester" and on the face is embossed, as already stated, "*E Libris* J. Wingate Thornton."

Referring to the northeast corner of the tract therein described, it will be noticed that the deed says, "& so unto a great hill caulled Aspomscoke" which Judge Washburn remarks "is supposed to be the hill now called Hasnebumskit, in Paxton." The recent purchase of the crown of this beautiful hill by Ex-President Hoar, is cause for heartfelt congratulation not only to us who have long been its lovers but to his associates in this Society and to the people at large to all of whom it is to be made easily accessible. In this connection I take the liberty of reading the following descriptive

letter by Senator Hoar addressed to the librarian, May 19, 1890:—

“I am very much obliged to you for your enclosures as to the etymology of Asnebumskit or Hasnebumskit which I think give us a pretty good clue to the meaning of the word. I believe all Indian names, certainly all in our part of the country, have a significance which is descriptive of the place to which they are applied. The top of Asnebumskit is, as you know, the highest land in Massachusetts between the Connecticut River and the sea, except Wachusett and Wantatuck, and is the highest point in a gentle range of hills sloping off gradually towards the north; seeming when you have reached the summit from the south and look north like an elevated table-land or plain. The rock comes almost to the surface, being covered by only a thin layer of soil supporting a little grass and moss at the very highest point. About a hundred feet westward of the highest point, where the flagstaff is, and a very little lower indeed than the base of the flagstaff is a pretty large rock standing up from the surface perhaps five feet and some six or seven feet square, quite enough to afford a good shade for a person who sits down by it. Your correspondent [Dr. Albert S. Gatschet] says the Hasne means stone or rock. I believe in one of the Indian vocabularies I have seen that Hassuni or Assuni is said to mean stony place. Your correspondent says that ompsk means standing or upright rock. I therefore think that Asnebumskit means a rock standing upright in a rocky place, which is a precise description of the locality.”

And here let me briefly refer to an “outline of a scheme for facilitating the preservation and dedication to public enjoyment of such scenes and sites in Massachusetts as possess either uncommon beauty or historical interest,” submitted May 10, 1890, by a Committee of the Appalachian Mountain Club. Such a movement may well find favor among our members. The circular truly says: “There is no need of argument to prove that opportunities for beholding the beauty of nature are of great importance to the health and happiness of crowded populations. As respects large masses of the population of Massachusetts, the oppor-

tunities are rapidly vanishing. Many remarkable natural scenes near Boston have been despoiled of their beauty during the last few years. Similar spots near other cities of the Commonwealth have likewise suffered. Throughout the State, scenes which future generations of towns-people would certainly prize for their refreshing power are today in danger of destruction. Unless some steps towards their effectual protection can be taken quickly, the beauty of these spots will have disappeared, the opportunity for generous action will have passed. Scattered throughout the State are other places made interesting and valuable by historical or literary associations; and many of these are also in danger." The conference called for by the circular from which I have quoted, was held in Boston, May 24, 1890, at which time there was created "a committee to promote the preservation of beautiful and historical sites in Massachusetts," of which committee three notable names are those of members of this Society, viz., Gen. Francis A. Walker, Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D.¹ and J. Evarts Greene, Esq. I need not remind you of their peculiar fitness for the mission to be undertaken. A circular just issued by this committee states very succinctly two fundamental facts, viz.: "It is the self-interest of the Commonwealth to preserve for the enjoyment of her people and their guests, all the finest scenes of natural beauty and all her places of historical interest. Private ownership of such scenes and places now prevails, so that not only is the public completely barred out from many especially refreshing and interesting spots but these valuable places are often robbed of their beauty or interest for some small private gain."

The necessity for national or State protection—possibly purchase—of the few remaining ruins of the eight years' war and the wars which preceded it, should be strongly emphasized. I was impressed with the value and import-

¹ Died November 13, 1890.

ance of such memorials, during a recent drive through portions of Vermont and New York which contain notable examples. The noble monuments at Bennington and Saratoga are permanent investments of a high order, but they should not blind our eyes to the fact that even more impressive lessons can be learned at Crown Point and Ticonderoga where no modern monuments exist. These were purchased with our wealth, while those were won by the blood and treasure of the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary fathers. A greater number of both classes of monumental reminders may well be cared for by our liberty-loving people. As a national society we may do something in the way of suggested endeavor; the American Historical Association can add its strong and extended influence; the venerable Society of the Cincinnati can do even more; and the young and vigorous Society of the Sons of the Revolution perhaps the most of all. That the last two named have National and State associations would seem to help rather than to hinder such an effort, for both National and State pride may well be enlisted in such an effort as that to which your attention is called. Mr. W. Morton Fullerton in his article on "English and Americans," in *The Fortnightly Review* for May, 1890, says: "Fort Ticonderoga still stands the most imposing military ruin in America." This may be true, but if true how long will it remain so? It is still the private property of a worthy New York family whose sign-board requests visitors not to deface or mutilate. At Crown Point, twenty miles north, is another and in some respects a more impressive ruin around which gathers not a little of American history. This is better protected, in part because not so easy of access, but this is also private property. I am convinced by personal observation that there remain children of the Revolutionary patriots whose anecdotes and incidents, related by them as received from their fathers, should not be allowed to perish. Mr. Rufus A. Grider of Canajoharie, N. Y., has been assisted in his

unique effort to preserve representations by colored drawings of what remain of the powder horns used in the early American wars. While at first sight this appears to be a peculiarly useless work a glance at some of the contemporary historical, biographical and geographical records on them call forth a more favorable judgment. A sample inscription taken from one of our collection is herewith given :

“A X B X July 2d 1758.

“Hezekiah Ford his horn, July 8, 1758, Ticonderogue fight began at ten A. M. and ended at five a'clock & their was killed & wounded (*obscure*) 2884.” Bancroft gives the English loss as 1967.

I desire to call your attention to the manner in which our annual meeting was conducted seventy-five years ago. The handbill distributed on that occasion in King's Chapel, Boston, follows :—

ORDER OF PERFORMANCES,
AT THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1815.

-
- I. “*We praise thee, O God*”....By a select choir : Organ by Dr. JACKSON.
II. PRAYER.
III. HYMN. “*Before Jehovah's awful throne.*” (Denmark.)
IV. LESSONS.
V. HYMN. “*O Thou, the first, the greatest friend.*” (Colchester new.)
VI. ADDRESS....By Dr. WILLIAM PAINE, M. D.
VII. HYMN. “*To thee! great Sovereign of the skies.*” (Old Hundred.)
VIII. BENEDICTION.

BEFORE Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations bow, with sacred joy;
Know that the Lord is God alone,
He can create, and he destroy.

His sovereign power, without our aid,
 Made us of clay, and form'd us men;
 And when like wandering sheep we stray'd,
 He brought us to his fold again.

We'll crowd thy gates with thankful songs,
 High as the heaven our voices raise;
 And earth with her ten thousand tongues,
 Shall fill thy courts with sounding praise.

Wide as the world is thy command;
 Vast as eternity thy love;
 Firm as a rock thy truth shall stand,
 When rolling years shall cease to move.

O THOU the first, the greatest friend,
 Of all the human race!
 Whose strong right hand has ever been
 Their stay and dwelling place!

Before the mountains heav'd their heads
 Beneath thy forming hand;
 Before this pond'rous globe itself
 Arose at thy command;

That pow'r which rais'd, and still upholds
 This universal frame,
 From countless, unbeginning time,
 Was ever still the same.

Those mighty periods of years,
 Which seem to us so vast,
 Appear no more before thy sight
 Than yesterday that's past.

To Thee! Great Sov'reign of the skies.

THIS DAY our grateful notes resound:
 From ev'ry heart shall incense rise,
 And praise throughout our land be found.

New Empires never rise by chance,—
 No veering gales dominion blow,
 A Sov'reign power doth states advance,
 And lay oppressive kingdoms low.

Led by that power, th' advent'rous band
 The trackless "waste of waves" explor'd:—
 That power upheld the warrior's hand
 Which drew for *right* the conqu'ring sword.

Then high the pealing organ swell,—
 From every tongue let praises rise:—
 Loud let the choral anthems tell

THY POW'ER, Great Sovereign of the skies!

The following paragraphs will show the spirit which animated the orator on that occasion, as well as remind us of the good intentions of the founders of the Society :

“As the descendants of the Pilgrims we meet with peculiar propriety in this house dedicated to the worship of God. The solemn prayers in which we have joined and the impressive lessons read from the Bible, are calculated to establish on our minds a sense of our religious duties, which will not I trust be easily obliterated. * * * The present state of the Institution may satisfy its members that it is permanently established, that it is destined to be useful, and have the countenance of the genuine lovers of history and literature. * * * I wish it to be distinctly understood that the American Antiquarian Society is founded on the most liberal principles, is of no sect or party, has no local views. It embraces the continent. It solicits and would gratefully receive communications from every part of the world, which have a tendency to elucidate the events of past ages or excite a spirit of research for information which would be conducive to the happiness of the present or subsequent age. It is to be wished that every member of this Society would endeavour by the most active exertions to add something to the common stock of antiquarian literature.”

Time has not weakened the force or the truth of these words.

In closing I cannot forbear a word of affectionate greeting to our distinguished senior Vice-President—first also on our list of associates—the Honorable George Bancroft, D.C.L.,¹ whose ninetieth birthday occurred on the third instant.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

¹ Died January 17, 1891.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, HENRY, Esq., Washington, D. C.—His "History of the United States of America during the First Administration of James Madison."
- ADAMS, HERBERT B., Ph.D., Baltimore, Md.—One pamphlet.
- ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—"Dedication of the Woods Memorial Library Building at Barre, Mass., December 30, 1887," containing the dedicatory address of Judge Aldrich; eight books; forty-three pamphlets; three files of newspapers; and The English "Antiquary," from April, 1890.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Two periodicals, in continuation; and ten pamphlets.
- BARTON, WM. SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-four pamphlets.
- BEDDOE, JOHN, M.D., Bristol, Eng.—His Address at the Anniversary Meeting of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
- BROCK, Mr. ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—One newspaper.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—Ten selected pamphlets.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., Worcester.—Four books; sixty-three pamphlets; two lithographs; fifty-three Confederate States of America Certificates; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, Ohio.—Van Buren's "Abraham Lincoln's Pen and Voice"; Thruston's "Antiquities of Tennessee and Adjacent States"; Cutler's "Life and Times of Ephraim Cutler"; and Butterfield's "History of the Girtys."
- COLTON, Mr. REUBEN, Worcester.—Fifteen selected pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Mr. ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Indian College at Cambridge."
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Three books; and fifty-four pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—Eighteen California Directories; eight pamphlets; and one war handbill.
- DEVENS, General CHARLES, Boston.—His "Address upon the Celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States."
- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—President Dwight's Tribute to Ex-President Woolsey; and the "Obituary Record" of Yale.
- EDES, Mr. HENRY H., Boston.—Two books; sixty-one pamphlets; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Report of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1890.

- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—Bigelow's "Life and Writings of Samuel J. Tilden," in two volumes.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; six books; two hundred and forty-three pamphlets; and one broadside.
- GREEN, MR. SAMUEL S., *Librarian*, Worcester.—His report as librarian, 1889.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-one selected pamphlets; and two views.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Boston.—Fifteen Year Books of the Unitarian Congregational Churches.
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REMINISCENCES OF DR. JOHN PARK.

BY EDWARD H. HALL.

IN the Report of the Council of this Society, at the meeting held April 28, 1852, is a brief notice of Dr. John Park, member of the Society from 1831 to his death in 1852, and member of the Council from 1832 to 1843. The singular beauty and dignity of Dr. Park's character, together with his noteworthy services in the cause of early female education, have been thought by some who remember him, to demand a fuller notice of his life, before the last of his many pupils, or of his immediate family, should have passed from the stage. It is from the reminiscences of these friends, and from a diary of Dr. Park's, kept punctiliously for many years, written with a clearness and elegance which put most of our modern penmanship to the blush, that the present paper is drawn.

John Park, son of Andrew and Mary (Cochran) Park, was born, January 7, 1775, in the little town of Windham, N. H. He came of Scotch-Irish ancestry, who settled in Londonderry, N. H., bringing with them vivid recollections of the great siege of Londonderry in 1689, which were often recounted to eager listeners in the farmhouses of New Hampshire. When Macaulay's History appeared, with its detailed and stirring accounts of this historic siege, the sufferings of the brave inhabitants, the attempts to relieve them, the breaking of the mighty boom which had been stretched across the river, and the arrival of vessels with food for the half-starved citizens, his narrative seemed but a repetition of the traditions so often heard from aged lips by the little children of the Windham homestead.

John Park, the oldest of seven children, was so small and feeble in his childhood that he was considered of little use on the farm, and was, consequently, allowed to follow his bent and prepare for college. He had already taught himself to write with a whittled stick upon birch-bark; and fortunately for him the clergyman of his native town, Rev. Simon Williams, living two miles away, was an enthusiastic classical scholar, and delighted to find in those secluded places so apt a scholar. Under his instruction young Park prepared for Dartmouth College, and at fourteen was admitted to the Junior class. On entering, his father went with him to Hanover on horseback, the son, resplendent in a crimson waistcoat made from his father's wedding-coat, riding the colt at his side. The only incidents of his college career which have come down to posterity were his exile to a pest-house on a neighboring mountain, to recover from small-pox, and his appearing on the college stage in Addison's play of *Cato*, in which he took the part of Marcia so successfully that one of his rustic hearers fell in love with the charming maiden on the spot.

He graduated at sixteen, in the class of 1791, and betook himself at once to teaching, being employed in this capacity, first in Charlestown, Mass., then in Middleton, and finally in Framingham, where he acted as preceptor of the Academy in 1793 and 1794. At this time he was desirous of entering the Ministry, but finding that he could not conscientiously teach the Calvinistic doctrines in which he had been reared, he began the study of medicine. In the meantime, however, having become engaged to the daughter of a neighboring clergyman, the Rev. Moses Adams of Acton, and being eager for an early settlement, he was persuaded to engage in a business venture in Norfolk, Va., which promised speedier success than his chosen profession. But his new occupation proved absolutely distasteful to him, and he turned to his books and studies again, finding a friend in a kind physician who encouraged him to persevere

in his chosen pursuit and gave him counsel and aid. He sought relief, too, in the companionship of a circle of French officers then in Norfolk, three large ships having been sent by the Republic to obtain provisions in Virginia, and being then blockaded by the English in the harbor. Having already begun the study of French while in Charles-town with a royalist emigrant, M. Nancrede, then tutor at Harvard College, Mr. Park availed himself eagerly of this fresh opportunity to improve himself in conversation, and seems to have taken great delight in singing republican songs with the gay and spirited Frenchmen. After a few months in Norfolk, he seized an opportunity to visit the West Indies, then the scene of active warfare, took passage with a Quaker captain, John Earle, of Newport, R. I., and landed in Dominique, in April, 1795, just as those little islands were in a fever of excitement over the action of the French Republic, granting to people of color the rights of French citizens. "I met here," says Mr. Park in his diary, "emigrants who had fled from an insurrection of the blacks in Guadeloupe, poor wretches who had been reduced in one night from the affluence of rich planters and merchants to absolute penury. As in these revolutionary times they had no direct communication with France, they beset me for news from the mother country. I could sustain a tolerably ready conversation with them in French; but once and again was checked by these proud royalists, when I inadvertently addressed them with a '*Oui citoyen*,' the term I had been accustomed to use among my republican friends at Norfolk. They shrugged their shoulders, and retorted, '*Monsieur, je ne suis pas citoyen*,' as indignantly as if I had said, you rascal."

Leaving Dominique in search of larger opportunities of practice, he spent a year in the French island of Martinique, where he obtained permission to attend the general hospital in St. Pierre. Here the successful treatment of a severe case of yellow fever brought his professional services into

instant demand, while he had occasion at the hospital, as he declares, "to see more surgical cases in one week than would be possible in Massachusetts in a whole year." During an attack by the English fleet upon the neighboring island of Santa Lucia, the wounded were brought in schooners to the hospital of St. Pierre. The memory of these charming days in Martinique haunted his dreams even in his old age, so greatly did the climate and scenery fascinate him, while the society of a few French and English families made the time pass most agreeably. Duelling was frequent there, and as his journal shows, was resorted to on the most trivial and often quizzical occasions. Slavery was of course a familiar sight everywhere, and at one of his boarding-places he was daily distressed by the cries of poor wretches, owned by a woman in a neighboring house, who were suffering under the lash. Once as he was watching a negro woman passing under his balcony with a board fastened around her neck as punishment for some offence, his indignation was aroused at seeing a white boy throw a handful of pepper into her face, and laugh at her screams of helpless agony. These cases, however, he considered exceptional, and speaks often in his diary of the jolly lives led by the West India negroes, whom he thought better off, for the most part, than in their own country. The moral aspects of slavery had not then, of course, attracted serious attention.

The most interesting incident given in his diary in connection with Martinique, is the following: "The British government, I believe, never rewarded the treachery of Benedict Arnold by any honorable appointment; but he was in Martinique at this time, employed by contract as purveyor to the English troops stationed in this island. Here, as in America, he was selfish, avaricious, and in his commercial dealings required looking after. I never heard his name mentioned with respect. Whatever he might have been in early life, he was now soured in temper, and gen-

erally quarrelled with every person with whom he had any business transactions. He had purchased a quantity of flour from a Capt. Art of Philadelphia. As this gentleman was standing by Blakeley's store, and I by his side, the General rode up. He performs his movements on horseback, having lost a leg in the battle near Ticonderoga. A disagreement soon followed, as usual in his bargains; loud words followed, when a group of English, French and Americans gathered to listen. At length the General shook his gold-headed cane at Capt. Art, and with an oath called him a rascal. Art quietly replied, 'General, you may call me by any name you please, except traitor.' Arnold instantly wheeled his horse and rode off, while the bystanders, English as well as Americans, burst into a loud laugh."

But Martinique, in spite of its attractions, proved too healthy a place to detain the young physician long; and on Aug. 21, 1796, he set off with a friend who was starting on a pleasure-trip among the West India islands, to seek a more favorable settlement. After touching at the Danish colonies of Santa Cruz, and St. Thomas, he finally established himself, Nov. 18, 1796, at Port au Prince in San Domingo. Here his excellent letters of introduction secured him a cordial reception from the English officers of the place, who surprised him, so soon after a long and bitter war, not only by their hospitality, but also by their interest in his country, and by their high praise of Washington. At this place he received the appointment of assistant surgeon at the hospitals, and in May, 1797, was put in charge of a ward by himself. His superior officer, though very formal, "not only giving his prescriptions in Latin, but generally making his remarks on the state of the patients in the same language," showed the most gratifying confidence in his young assistant; but as an order had just been issued "that no officer belonging to the medical staff should have anything to do with private practice," Mr. Park resigned his position, to devote himself to the

much more lucrative service which offered itself in the harbor. Here he was kept busy for many months by the yellow-fever cases which broke out in the English transports, many of which arrived in the harbor in filthy condition and without surgeons. In 1798, as the fever declined, small-pox broke out violently in Port au Prince, its spread and fatality being chiefly due, as he thought, to unskilful treatment. The common people were prejudiced against vaccination, but the patients whom he inoculated showed mild symptoms, and all recovered.

The year 1798 was a very eventful one in San Domingo, and Mr. Park remained there just long enough to witness some of its most exciting scenes. The negro leader, Toussaint Louverture, little known as yet to fame, had lately been appointed by the French Directory commander-in-chief of the army of San Domingo, and was at that time engaged in maintaining his position against the British forces who held the harbor and adjoining country of Port au Prince. "Our belligerent forces here," wrote Mr. Park to a friend, "are in a somewhat extraordinary position; we are hemmed in by the brigands (thus the negroes are called who surround us); I can every day see their tri-colored flags on two forts. The English are not desirous to extend their jurisdiction beyond what they now possess and can defend." "Port au Prince," he wrote, March 1, 1798, "is situated on a tract of rather flat ground rising gently, however, from the water. East of the town the land rises abruptly into mountains; on top of one of these ridges, about eight miles distant, the English have a post called Fourmier, and not far from it the brigands have another. There are frequent skirmishes of late between the English convoys going up to supply their post with provisions, and the negroes who conceal themselves in the woods and ravines along the road; as the whole route up the steep is in full view from Port au Prince, I have frequently seen the smoke and heard the report of the mus-

kets; have seen the red-coats hastening up and down, and the glitter of their bright gun-barrels. General Simcoe arrives today, succeeding Gen. Forbes, owing to whose supineness the French have lately appeared more active than ever." On the 12th of August still another change of commanders was made, General Maitland succeeding Gen. Simcoe, and showing himself apparently still more energetic and active. "He is incessantly on horsback," says Dr. Park's diary, "reconnoitering the positions about Port au Prince. The people are delighted with his spirited administration, the merchants in particular. English, French and Americans consider it a pledge of security, and of a permanent occupation of the place, at least until peace." These expectations, however, were at once strangely dispelled. From this point Dr. Park's diary becomes extremely interesting; but the limits of my paper forbid my giving more than the briefest extracts:—

April 21st. This evening a few of us were walking out of town, when our attention was arrested by a bright fire on the top of the mountain to the east. We agreed it must be the block house on that eminence, occupied as an outpost by the English. While we were wondering how it happened and apprehending some accident, a tremendous explosion announced the destruction of the building. On entering the city we found many had witnessed the catastrophe, but no one knew any particulars. *April 22nd.* Astounding news! the block house was blown up by order, and the garrison has come down. The whole place is in commotion. To the utter amazement and confusion of the town, a patrol with a drum is parading the streets, and at every corner a proclamation is read in French and English that in precisely fifteen days Port au Prince will be evacuated by the English. An earthquake could not produce greater excitement; consternation in every face. One week ago all was confidence, all felt sure of the protection of government. Now, in a moment, as it were, all is dismay. *23d and 24th.* Proclamations issued repeatedly, enjoining good order; promising every possible assistance without distinction of nation to all who should wish to leave the

place. *April 25th.* A flag of truce was despatched to the black general, Toussaint, at Genaives, offering to surrender the place to *him* (he has a rival at the south, a mulatto chief, Rigaud,) on condition of a cessation of hostilities until all who chose could emigrate, and requiring an official solemn promise of protection to the lives and property of those who, from any motive, might think proper to stay.

April 26th. Bustle, bustle! hurrying to and fro in every direction. Many of the French, white, yellow, and some of the blacks, are selecting what they will take with them, and hastening to the wharves. The sable republican but a few miles distant has returned his answer. Toussaint accedes to General Maitland's propositions on condition that all the forts in and about Port au Prince are left in their present order.

April 27th. Another proclamation. The commander-in-chief, who has hitherto been cautious of pledging himself for the conduct of Toussaint, now publishes the assurances he has received, and his own firm belief that Toussaint will honorably fulfil his engagements. This alters the face of things. Many who a few days ago were desiring to leave the town and abandon everything, anticipating nothing but plunder and murder, are now deciding to stay and risk the event of a change of government. *28th.* Embarcation, however, goes on briskly. Every vessel in port has been put in requisition by the Government, and vessels are hourly arriving for the purpose of transporting inhabitants and their effects.

April 29th. Proclamations are continually sounding through the streets, giving instructions. Cavalry patrol the town; noted aristocrats are anxious to get off; merchants are downcast on account of the sacrifices they must make; everybody in motion. I fall in with the Marquis de Rouverie, who fled from France in the early horrors of the Revolution. I have been acquainted with him ever since my arrival. He was with La Fayette in our War of Independence, and has interested me with accounts of his campaigns. He wears his cross and rapier in the style of the "*ancienne noblesse*," but is very poor; he once borrowed a few dollars of me and has never been able to return them, but he is welcome to them, as he helped to fight our battles. The great mystery is, what has been the cause of this unexpected and seemingly inconsistent change of policy. Gen. Maitland appeared to be taking every measure with

great zeal for maintaining possession. Why all at once abandon? The most plausible conjecture is that the British government have found the expense of maintaining Port au Prince, with a large circle of defences, too disproportioned to any advantages derived from holding it; that in order to conceal their purposes from France, they had given Maitland sealed orders, as is sometimes the case, not to be opened till a certain day; that this date occurred about the 20th, when he found his directions were to negotiate with Toussaint and evacuate. *April 30th.* Notwithstanding the tumult of the day, regulated, however, by a wonderful degree of system, the nights are perfectly quiet; stillness reigns, only broken by the changing of the guard, and occasional passing of the mounted patrol.

May 3rd. Things are verging to a close. A French Commissary has arrived. At the first panic, it seemed as if the whole population wished to fly. The reliance expressed by the Commander-in-chief on the fidelity of Toussaint, confirmed by the French Commissary, has so tranquillized the popular feeling that it is now supposed half at least will remain; among others two wealthy American houses.

To-day I receive my passport.

May 7th. One proclamation more. This enjoins upon those who remain to shut every door, and not open one at their peril till after sunrise to-morrow morning. I take leave of the many friends from whom I am probably separating forever. The happy moment for my departure has arrived, and I go on board the Merlin. *May 8th.* At two o'clock this morning Port Royal and all the military outposts were abandoned by the British troops, except a company sent to Fort Bisseton. The sun is up, the day is pleasant, but all the fleet remains quietly at anchor. A gentle breeze has touched Port Royal, and as the flag unfolds, we behold the blue, white and red, the Republican colors, seeming to exult in their new, proud elevation. Then we hear drums, and distinctly see the Republican troops, pouring down the streets, black as a thunder cloud; we observe them placing guards in different parts of the town. Some American boats went to the wharf this forenoon for water, and a few gentlemen who had remained reported that everything was conducted with the strictest order. We are under command of the guns of Port Royal,

but Toussaint keeps his word like "*a preux chevalier.*" *May 9th.* Soon after sunrise the signal gun is fired, the sails are spread, and with a moderate land breeze, the whole fleet, consisting of 136 sail, moves to the westward, not a mast as large as a broomstick left in the harbor.

On May 10, these tragic scenes end with a little comedy, which the diarist evidently enjoys recording in full. "*May 10.* Creeping along. The fastest sailers have to wait for the dullest; notwithstanding which precaution, one poor clump of a Dutch-built brig lagged so far astern that a row-boat of negroes slipped out from St. Mark's and took possession. The structure of Dutch vessels is peculiar, the stem and stern rounded much alike, so that these ignorant fellows seemed not to know the one from the other. With a spy-glass I clearly saw them towing her into harbor stern foremost."

On June 19, 1798, after an absence of three years and eight months, the traveller arrived at Newburyport, and hastened to rejoin his parents, and enter fairly upon the profession for which his varied experiences had so eminently fitted him. Jan. 4, 1799, he presented himself for examination before the Censors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, in Concert Hall, Boston, and soon received from them his medical diploma. He established himself at once in the little town of Amesbury, Mass., and was married, June 25, 1799, to Miss Louisa Adams, daughter of the Rev. Moses Adams, of Acton, Mass. In October of the same year, he was offered a commission as surgeon on the U. S. Ship *Warren*, Capt. Newman, which was about to sail for the West Indies, to protect the American commerce from the depredations of French privateers. As he felt himself especially familiar with the duties of such an office, and as the physician's fees which he found customary in Amesbury (a shilling a mile) proved too small for the support of his family, Dr. Park (as he was now entitled to be styled) accepted the commission; and on Dec. 25, 1799,

just after the news of Washington's death reached New England, he sailed again for the West Indies. The American navy appears to have been in a very primitive condition at this time. The officers of the *Warren* proved ill-bred and quarrelsome, the captain himself was vulgar and profane, given to immoderate drinking, and far more interested in prize-money and private speculations than in the discharge of his special duties, and the fleet of American merchantmen who entrusted themselves to his protection seemed to the surgeon, accustomed to the more skilful handling of British convoys, to be little safer than they would have been by themselves. The only privateers which they actually encountered were from the English island of New Providence, vessels which, though nominally at peace with the United States, took it upon themselves to plunder American traders at will. One of them was caught in the act of boarding an American schooner; whereupon the captain was told that if he touched an American vessel again, he would be blown to pieces. The privateer responded by saying "we shall board every one we come across," and then, as if to show the utmost possible contempt for the Yankee officer, he sailed along after the *Warren* for a considerable distance, the drum and fife furiously playing *Yankee Doodle Dandy*. Tiring of this sort of work, and leaving American commerce to take care of itself, the Captain suddenly started off for the Gulf of Mexico, nominally under orders, but really on a speculation of his own. They reached Vera Cruz only to turn almost immediately back again; the vessel was visited by yellow fever in its most aggravated form: and the surgeon was obliged to fight night and day, not only against the disease itself, but against the "pernicious laxity of discipline and want of cleanliness in the whole economy of the ship." Out of one hundred and fifty officers and men, there were one hundred cases in six weeks, of which thirty-nine proved fatal. "It was no uncommon thing," says Dr. Park, "to see men

one hour doing duty on the yards, and the next hour raging in delirium, or in violent convulsions, or in an insensible stupor." The captain himself finally fell a victim to the disease, and the vessel returned to Boston, September, 1800, under the command of the first-lieutenant. It is characteristic of Dr. Park, that though profoundly distressed by the sufferings which he witnessed during this unfortunate voyage, and though the companionship of the ill-mannered officers was utterly distasteful to him, he yet made no complaint whatever, but found delightful occupation in water-color sketching, in the study of navigation, in making himself practically familiar with the structure and working of the ship, and in the daily comradeship of his favorite Horace, of Helvetius and Zimmerman, and of Addison, Dr. Johnson, and Pope, whom he pronounced "a very companionable set of gentlemen."

In a second trip of the *Warren* (begun Nov. 27, 1800), under a very different commander, Captain, afterwards Commodore, James Barron, "an experienced seaman, strict disciplinarian and very gentlemanly officer," Dr. Park visited once more the island of Martinique, and other scenes of his earlier West India experiences, and was absent until peace was arranged with France, arriving in Boston again June 30, 1801. The voyage was uneventful, his time being chiefly spent in reading, in visiting the various islands, and in playing duets with the captain, Captain Barron, on the violin, the surgeon on the flute. Captain Barron was dangerously ill on the voyage, and was obliged to resign, being succeeded by Captain Talbot, son of Commodore Talbot of the *Constitution*.

On resigning his commission as surgeon, Dr. Park would seem to have had a successful career open before him, as few young physicians of twenty-six have gained a more useful or varied experience. Yet he was by no means at ease in his calling. While carrying Capt. Barron through his serious illness in the West Indies, Dr. Park wrote in

his journal, under date of Feb. 27: "Pondering on the miserable anxiety I have always felt when in charge of a patient dangerously ill, and on what I am now suffering, it seems to me that if I cannot conquer this useless sympathy (and I see no prospect of that) it will be most for my comfort, as soon as I can quit the navy, to relinquish the profession, and try some other method of supporting myself and family. Many persons can discharge the medical duties without excited feelings; I cannot." Acting on this impulse, and being also deeply interested in the political discussions of the hour, and profoundly disturbed by the triumphs of the Jeffersonian party, he was persuaded to establish a semi-weekly paper in Newburyport, to which he gave the name of the *New England Repertory*. The first number was issued July 6, 1803. In his Prospectus, the editor announces that his paper is to be devoted to "important subjects of Literature, Politics and Morality." As to Politics he says: "The editor will be governed by such feelings and opinions as are to be supposed natural to a native American who never knew any government as his own but that of the Federal Constitution." The paper was published on Wednesdays and Saturdays, at "\$3.50 per annum, exclusive of postage—first half-year payable in advance." The paper had from the first the support of many of the leading Federalists of eastern Massachusetts, and very soon Dr. Park found it for his interest to remove his business to Boston. The 58th number was published in Boston, Feb. 3, 1804. It was issued from 71 State street, on Tuesdays and Fridays, at \$4 per annum, six months payable in advance. The office was in the east end of the Old State House, with a balcony looking down State street. In looking through the columns of *The Repertory* one finds himself in the densest Federalist atmosphere of that tumultuous epoch. He reads of "the tyrannical policy of Lord Jefferson." He is informed, with some display of italics, that "Mr. Jefferson went to Washington to attend Congress,

on Sunday, left Washington for Monticello on Sunday, returned from Monticello to Washington on Sunday." He finds a table showing how "John Adams was chosen President at the previous election over Jefferson by the Freemen of the United States,"—Jefferson owing his election to slave representation. He reads that "universal suffrage has doomed every country to destruction which has ever adopted it." He comes upon a little squib, just before Commencement Day, in which a certain *Honestus* is advised "not to attend Commencement, unless his nerves are better strung than usual, as the name of Washington might be mentioned, and it would be difficult to get out through the crowd." He will find, also, long and elaborate political essays by Fisher Ames, and other of the well-known writers of the day; will find many articles on moral and literary themes, and many poems of the sentimental character of the times, printed with lavish use of capitals.

But this political episode of Dr. Park's career was brief. While engaged in the work, he threw his whole heart into it, as before into his medical practice; but with very much the same result. The eagerness of his early zeal soon gave way to disgust at the heat and rancor of political controversy, and he was easily induced at last to listen to proposals of quite another kind. In 1811, after seven years of prosperous existence as a semi-weekly, the *Repertory* was sold to W. W. Clapp, and became in 1813, as the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the first daily paper ever published in Boston. In 1814, Nathan Hale purchased the whole establishment and became both editor and publisher.

The new field into which Dr. Park entered when 36 years of age, and which became from that time his life-pursuit, was that of education. It is quite proper to call it his life-pursuit. When a boy, his eagerness for information and study had surprised the learned pastor who had drifted into the pastoral regions of New Hampshire; during his adventurous voyages he had found constant consolation in his

English and Latin classics; while editor, the literary columns of his paper had been quite as near to his heart as the political; and now that an opportunity offered itself for becoming a teacher, he soon recognized this as his real vocation.

The high position which Boston has always held in all matters of culture is well known. Eighty years ago, however, the education of girls had received very little serious attention in Boston or elsewhere. Young Ladies' Schools already existed; the first "Female Academy" known to fame was established in Medford in 1789, and was soon followed by others of the same kind; but the teaching of accomplishments was the sole purpose, and had not generally, if at all, given way to carefully-appointed courses of study. Dr. Park's school seems to have been among the first efforts, if not the very first, in this direction. According to his own words, written in 1837: "Several gentlemen of Boston thought the time had come when it was but just to offer to young ladies the means of pursuing more diversified and elevated studies than had hitherto been embraced in their literary education." Upon this scheme he entered with enthusiasm. Beginning with a few scholars whose parents had suggested the experiment, his school, known at first as the "Boston Lyceum for Young Ladies," was soon filled to overflowing, and so continued throughout the twenty years of its existence. Nearly all the names by which the commercial or literary Boston of those days was known to the world were represented sooner or later in this little school-room. The school was kept in his own house, during the first year on Bowdoin street, afterwards on Mount Vernon street.

Dr. Park's changes of residence, though not connected directly with his school affairs, are interesting as indicating the flow of population in Boston at that time. Living first on Williams Court (off Washington street), he moved afterwards to the then attractive region of Fort Hill, from which

he was driven by northeast winds to the rustic seclusion of Chambers street, and the almost equally retired fields of Bowdoin and Mount Vernon (then Olive)¹ streets. When on Bowdoin street, the children watched the sailors from the Navy Yard as they pulled down the brick monument surmounted by an eagle which crowned the top of Beacon Hill; from the windows of Mount Vernon street they looked across a cow-pasture and over the ruins of "Cotton's Folly," to see the cows wandering on the Common, and to tell the way of the wind by the Hollis-street vane. On one occasion, as their curious eyes were ranging the horizon with a telescope, they were horrified by seeing a ghastly row of pirates, in white caps and heads on one side, hanging from a gallows on Boston Neck.

To return to the school. It is interesting to see how vivid was the impression, both of his instruction and of his personality, upon the minds of his pupils, and how affectionate was the remembrance which they retained of him, in their later years. Out of many tributes of this kind, I quote the following passage from a letter written by one of his scholars to another at the time of his death. After speaking of "the days we passed together under the benignant influence of this most paternal of teachers, for he was truly a school-father," the writer says: "Few persons have established such a wide circle of the purest and most interesting

¹ Olive street was laid out from Belknap street to Charles street about the year 1803, receiving a name to correspond with Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce and Cedar streets, in the same neighborhood. The Boston Directory of 1813 gives the name of Dr. Park, with the addition "Ladies' Academy, 5 Olive street." In the Directories of 1818 and 1823, his residence is given as at "5 Mt. Vernon," and in the list of streets we find: "Mt. Vernon: buildings on the north side of Olive street." About the year 1800, Sumner street was laid out from the corner of Park and Beacon streets, "round the New State House S. W. by Beacon Hill." Sumner street and Olive street met, end to end, at Belknap street. In 1825, according to Drake, the name of Olive street was changed to Sumner street. In 1830, Dr. Park's residence is given as on Sumner street, but the row of buildings in which he lived was still called "Mount Vernon"; and in 1833, after he had removed to Worcester, the entire street received its present name of Mount Vernon street.

relations as Dr. Park. He was eminently fitted for the office of pioneer in the improved, enlarged and refined system of education he conducted so long among us. But it was our intercourse with him, more than the books, which formed all whose minds were not by nature unsusceptible to his general influence. With his taste for learning we had perhaps little sympathy in the earlier school-days. He was a great reservoir of all the grammars and histories of the world; and being the one having authority to exact stated efforts from girls whose propensity to 'giggle and make giggle' was equal to Cowper's, we were sometimes placed in an antagonistic position. But when he indulged us in listening to the story of La Roche, he placed himself on our platform, and we enjoyed and wept together. This it was which sanctified arithmetic and the Latin Grammar." In the "Sequel to the Three Experiments of Living," published in 1837, the author, Mrs. George Lee, two of whose daughters were in Dr. Park's school, writes: "About twenty years ago, the first seminary in Boston was opened for instructing young ladies in the higher branches of education. It was an experiment, and succeeded, because it was founded on the wants of the time. A taste for literature was cultivated, and a knowledge of languages taught. This seminary prepared the way for others; and though the founder of it has retired from his arduous labors to enjoy, in the bosom of his family, the honorable competency he has won, many a blessing goes with him."

Dr. Park's characteristics as a teacher, as described by his pupils, were thoroughness, and a very contagious enthusiasm. Deeply interested himself in the French, Italian and English literatures, he imparted the same passion to his scholars; while with abundance of maps, charts and instruments, he gave great reality and vividness to studies which had before that time been taught almost entirely by rote. Not encouraging *memoriter* recitations, nor believing much in verbal memory, he yet insisted upon the

greatest exactness. The course of study seems to have covered the Latin, French and Italian languages, ancient and modern history, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, several branches of natural history, experimentally taught, and geography taught almost exclusively by maps and by imaginary voyages around the world. More important than all these, however, to his own mind, were the weekly themes in English composition, which were also exercises in handwriting, and with which was connected incidentally the study of Blair's *Rhetoric* and Alison on *Taste*. There were also parsing exercises with the whole school once a week. The only printed document which still bears witness to Dr. Park's system of instruction, is a pamphlet entitled "Outlines of Ancient History and Chronology," covering the main historic and mythologic events of classic times in compact and useful form for constant consultation. In teaching Latin, into which he introduced the continental pronunciation of the letter *a*, he paid little attention at first to Prosody; but after meeting a certain Dr. Fisher, who brought from England advanced ideas of classical instruction, Dr. Park insisted upon the careful scanning of Virgil and Horace, placing his young girls, for the time, quite ahead of their brothers in Harvard College in this important detail.

The books studied in Latin were Cæsar, *Viri Romæ*, Virgil, Sallust, Horace, Cicero's *Officiis*, *Senectute* and *Amicitia*, with some of the Catiline orations; in French, Fénelon's *Telemaque*, and Florian's *Tales* (until these were found quite too stupid), Voltaire, Racine and one comedy of Molière (*Tartuffe*); in Italian, *Notti Romani*, Metastasio, and afterwards Alfieri, with a little of Tasso. Dante was never reached. German language or literature had no place in Dr. Park's curriculum, as he shared in the prejudice of the day against the German writers, whom he considered far inferior to the Italian. His daughters, though otherwise encouraged in the widest literary pursuit, were

never allowed to study German. At first he had two scholars in Greek; but as this crowded the other studies too much, his ideas of thoroughness would not allow him to proceed with it. He gave all instruction himself, except that towards the close of his twenty years, a few classes recited to his older daughter. The school had a costly equipment not only of foreign books, but also of instruments, such as electrical machines, orreries, galvanic batteries, air-pumps, telescopes and microscopes, procured at great trouble from England, France and Germany. The hours of the school were from 9 o'clock to 1. According to a pleasant anecdote which has survived, throwing some light upon the spirit which prevailed in the school, Dr. Channing once remonstrated with Dr. Park for his use of medals, as fostering jealousies and ill-feeling. "Yes," said Dr. Park, "I do use medals, and I find, also, that my finest scholars are most intimate with each other." During this same period, though music was never taught in the school, Dr. Park gave much time to the flute and guitar, accompanying himself upon the latter in French and Italian songs, which he sang with great feeling, and with an extremely sweet though not powerful voice. Those who remember him in Boston society, recall his singing of "Does the Harp of Rosa slumber?" "The Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie," and other familiar after-dinner melodies. He was fond of society, whether in New England or the West Indies; fond, too, of dancing, and even of waltzing, which he had learned in the Indies, but which he refused to practise except with his daughters. His home was always a delightful one, not only for its charming hospitalities, but for the variety of strangers to be encountered there. The French and Italian consuls (De Valnais and Manzoni) were in the habit of bringing their fellow-countrymen, refugees often from foreign tyranny, to this pleasant and cultivated abode. Such German exiles as Lieber and Follen are also remembered as intimate guests.

In 1831, after exactly twenty years of teaching, his uninterrupted labors, first as editor, then as teacher, began to tell upon his constitution, producing frequent vertigo and other alarming symptoms, and warning him that his active days were over. His doctor advised an entire change, not only of occupation but also of scene, and urged him to seek some country home where he might have a garden and out-of-door life to interest him. The result was that, after visiting various country towns, he finally found himself attracted by the natural beauties and intelligent society of Worcester, and retired there with his family, April 1, 1831, spending in Worcester the remainder of his days. He lived at first in a house situated on the rising ground corresponding with that on which the building of the Antiquarian Society stands, which formerly gave picturesqueness to the south end of Main street, but which the necessities of trade, always scornful of beauty, have long ago obliterated. In 1842, when his family had become reduced to himself and his wife, he sold his estate and took board at the Worcester House, at the foot of Elm street. In 1814, he had been married for the second time (to Mrs. Agnes Major, an English lady), and on moving to Worcester, his family consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Park and two daughters. On his 62d birthday, January 7, 1837, Dr. Park resumed the daily journal, which had been suspended through the entire period of his Boston life; and from this time until his last sickness his occupations, his reading and his thoughts are portrayed in their minutest detail. It is an exquisite picture, revealing an old age of singular sweetness and dignity, of untiring intellectual activity and of the keenest domestic enjoyment. As compared with his previous experiences, his life in Worcester was absolutely uneventful; aside from a small class of young ladies who came to him for a short period, he undertook no regular occupation; but with his library and garden at his command, a small but congenial social circle about him, and the political and religious ques-

tions of the day to interest him, he was independent of the world, and never murmured at the fate which had driven him from more exciting surroundings to this quiet retreat.

Dr. Park was always a passionate collector of rare books. In his earlier days, when dollars were scarce, he could never pass a book-auction unscathed, and had to run the gauntlet of his family's raillery, as he smuggled into the house his guilty purchases. His shelves showed many different editions of his favorite Latin authors, especially of Horace; and his descendants to-day ornament their book-cases, even if they do not store their minds, with superb copies of Virgil, Xenophon, Livy, Tacitus, Ovid, Pindar, in vellum bindings, with Dr. Park's exquisite lettering, more beautiful than printers' type, upon the outside. His passion for Horace never failed him. Amid the distresses and discomforts of his West India voyages, Horace was constantly in his hand; and in later days, when growing infirmities brought restless nights, the *Odes* lay always at his bedside, to while away the wakeful hours. On leaving his own house in Worcester, his library of about 3,000 books was stored in Brinley Row; and it was one of the sorrows of his old age when an unfortunate fire in the block destroyed, or seriously damaged, many of his most valuable volumes. His books were for use, not show. Almost every page of his Worcester journal has a notice of some new work which he had read, and of which he often gives a thoughtful and critical analysis. His reading was singularly catholic, considering the prejudices of the age, extending even to translations of the German writers who were then coming into vogue; but while he frankly admires the brilliancy and originality of such authors as Jean Paul, he can never quite forgive German philosophy for dealing, as he expresses it, in "rhapsodical intimations rather than distinct sentiments."

In politics, Dr. Park remained a sturdy Federalist and Whig to the end of the chapter, deploring in no measured terms, in later years, what seemed to him the steady

growth of demagogueism. In his entry of November 8, 1845, he says: "Worcester has been and is yet thronged with political conventions preparatory to next Monday's election. Whigs, Democrats, Natives and Abolitionists, all have their turn. I go to none of them, but stay at home and mourn over the distracted state of the popular mind, and the low ebb of disinterested patriotism. The selfish demagogue is seen everywhere, the politician who wants nothing but his country's prosperity,—nowhere." His earlier political zeal changed by slow degrees into that strong distaste for participancy in national or municipal affairs, even at the polls, whose prevalence among our cultivated classes is so ominous a symptom in American politics. As early as April 3, 1837, he writes: "I never take any part in our municipal concerns, except occasionally to vote on an election day. I have no taste for such action, and that, in such a government as ours, is probably a defect in character." A letter from his son, Hon. John C. Park, written just after the exciting fall campaign of 1840 (the Harrison campaign), which Dr. Park transcribes in full, is interesting for its allusion to an evil which has since gained such stupendous dimensions, but which even then, in its slighter forms, was filling generous minds with gloomy forebodings. "Has the spoils system," writes Mr. Park, "become a part of our system of government; and will it not eventually destroy all honorable ambition; lessen the desire of honest and high-minded men (I should say the *willingness*, not the desire) to become holders of office? Will it not eventually throw all office into the hands of the needy, vicious, irresponsible and wicked, and finally work out the destruction of true liberty? In honest truth, the power I myself have been wielding (in the campaign) and wonderfully to my own astonishment, has led me to dread the worst. The insane thirst for office has broken out within three days like a mania; and they regard poor me as a deceiver or a flat, because I am not in an office fever." Notwithstanding all

this, however, Dr. Park follows his country's varying destinies with the liveliest and most intelligent interest, deprecates the Mexican War as wicked and aggressive, and the general democratic policy of the day as favoring the further extension of slave-territory, shares to the full the prevailing Whig hostility towards the Abolitionists, and denounces heartily the first Free-Soil agitations which were making such mournful headway, and whose final outcome he did not live to see.

In religious matters, Dr. Park held a consistent attitude throughout his life. From his youthful days, when he abandoned the Orthodox ministry because he could not accept the prevailing dogmas, he retained a thoughtful interest in theological enquiries to the end. In Boston, he worshipped first at Church Green, under the successive ministrations of Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Greenwood, and Mr. Young; and afterwards followed Mr. Greenwood to King's Chapel, though continuing to attend communion at Church Green. He was always fond of the liturgical service of the Chapel, and never became reconciled to the Congregational habit of public extemporaneous prayer. In Worcester, he connected himself with the Second Parish, was a constant attendant at the Sunday services, took vigorous part in occasional Sunday evening gatherings for religious discussions, and established the most friendly personal intercourse with Dr. Bancroft and Dr. Hill. In his entry of October 31, 1841, he records the fact: "this is the first day I have not attended church for more than ten and a half years." On being once requested to serve as deacon, he unequivocally refused, saying: "I am becoming tolerably grave to be sure, yet not quite enough so to wear the name of deacon." His interest in religion was largely a theological one. Its profounder themes had constant attraction for him, and he was quite as familiar with the Biblical researches of the day as his clergymen themselves. On the appearance of Norton's "Gen-

uineness of the Gospels" in 1844, he accepted Norton's revolutionary views of the Jewish Scriptures as essentially what he had himself reached on reading the Old Testament carefully fifteen years before. In 1847, when 72 years of age, we find him studying Matthew's Gospel, with a view to critically comparing it with Luke's. While a pronounced Humanitarian in his belief, and as independent in his interpretations of the New Testament as of the Old, he had little patience with the religious mysticism which was creeping into Unitarian pulpits fifty years ago, imported straight, as he thought, from the German mystic philosophers whom he detested. "Spare me transcendentalism," he says, "give me something which can be distinctly comprehended, and I am willing to study hard." He speaks, in 1838, of "Mr. Emerson's infidel sermon," alludes, in 1845, to "the Illuminati who scoff at the authority of the Gospels"; praises Theodore Parker for his eloquence, but complains that his splendid visions offer no basis for the earnest thinker, but leave him, where Socrates and Cicero left him, afloat, "upon the same dark sea of speculation." Parker's preaching he epitomizes as asserting: "I have no higher authority than myself; every man was made to be his own Christ." But while disavowing these pernicious tendencies, and declaring that it was time for a line to be drawn between those who "believed the Gospels to be a revelation and those who did not," he kept always an open mind, and was led beyond his denunciations into renewed investigations into the evidences of Christianity. Writing in 1845, he declares theological studies, notwithstanding his "good old classics," to be his "greatest pleasure."

Thus he passed his declining years. His home continued to be the centre of his sweetest and purest delight, satisfying all the claims of a deeply affectionate nature; his books kept the intellectual world continually open to him; his passion for music lent glow and color to his daily life; his capacity for intense emotion gave vividness to his enjoy-

ment of the present and his recollections of the past. This last-named quality, which perhaps gives a truer key to the inner man than any other single trait, is best illustrated by a chance remark of his own towards the end of his life, with which I will close this inadequate sketch. His son-in-law, in an afternoon call, had questioned him as to his early life, and thus drawn out an account lasting two hours and a half, of his entire career. "The narrative was so exciting to myself," he writes, "that before I was half through, my cheeks were burning as if in a paroxysm of fever. This, however, is always the case with me, when in conversation my feelings are much engaged."

His last days passed calmly and happily, notwithstanding the discomforts and sufferings of advancing years. Within a week of his death, he said to one of his family: "My life was never happier than now." Up to his 75th year, his health was good, and his out-of-door habits undisturbed; but from that time a series of troubles, beginning with what seemed to be neuralgia of the feet, brought increasing infirmities, borne with beautiful patience; until, March 4, 1852, his life came to a peaceful close.

A FORGOTTEN PATRIOT.

BY HENRY S. NOURSE.

OF self-sacrificing patriots who in troublous times have proved themselves worthy the lasting gratitude of the commonwealth, very many have found no biographer; but none seem more completely forgotten, even in the towns of which they were once the ruling spirits, than the officers who led the Massachusetts yeomanry during those tedious campaigns of the French and Indian War, which awoke the British colonies to consciousness of their strength and thereby hastened the founding of the Republic. A few incidents in the honorable career of one of these unremembered patriots—one whom perhaps diffidence only, prevented from being a very conspicuous figure in the battles for independence—I have brought together, and offer as faint, unsatisfying outlines of an eventful and useful life.

In "Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography," published in 1889, twenty-two lines are given to General John Whitcomb, nearly every date and statement in which is erroneous. It is alleged therein that he was born "about 1720, and died in 1812"; and the brief narrative is embellished with a romantic tale wholly borrowed from the military experience of a younger brother, Colonel Asa Whitcomb. Biographical notes in volumes XII. and XVIII. of the Essex Institute Historical Collections perpetuate like errors of date. Even in the most voluminous histories of the building of the Republic, this general's name is barely, or not at all mentioned.

John Whitcomb, or Whetcomb as the family always

wrote the name until within the present century, was born in that part of Lancaster, Massachusetts, which became Bolton, in 1738, the eldest son of John and Rebecca; being of the fourth generation from John Whetcomb, one of the original proprietors of the township, who came from Dorchester, England, about 1633. The exact date of his birth is not found, but in Rev. John Prentice's register it is set down that he was baptized, February 20, 171 $\frac{1}{2}$. He was then about two years of age, for the modest slate-stone that marks his grave in the oldest burial-ground of Bolton records that "John Whetcomb, Esq., died November 17, 1785, in the 73 year of his age." Not only does his epitaph ignore the military rank of this soldier of three wars, but it closes with "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Of the boy John not very much can be learned. Before his seventh birthday he had lost his father by death, and his mother survived her husband but a few years. He was placed in the guardianship of his uncle, Joseph Sawyer, the village blacksmith, and no doubt grew up in the little rural community that had gathered about the old garrison-house which his father's uncle Josiah had built, and of which Josiah's son was yet commandant. From items in the financial account of his stewardship-rendered by the guardian, we may infer that John had ailments, and swallowed the usual drastic doses; and that these were mostly administered to him by a relative, Doctress Mary Whetcomb—the first medical practitioner resident in Lancaster—who, as Mary (Hayward) Fairbank, had been widowed in the massacre of 1697, and carried to Canada; and who claimed to have brought from her two years' captivity among the Indians a rare acquaintance with Nature's remedies. He went to school from eight to twelve weeks in the year, and the town's schoolmaster, Edward Broughton, taught him to read, write and cipher passably well; but if spelling was one of the educational exercises of his school, John never much

profited thereby. Every Sabbath he accompanied his elders to the meeting-house, five miles distant, to hear the impressive exhortations of the Reverend John Prentice, and doubtless was well drilled in the catechism. Living upon the verge of English settlement, in an age when extreme frugality was compulsory upon all, and life to the majority an anxious scramble for covering and food, he certainly did not long eat the bread of idleness.

Now and then bands of marauding Indians made their presence felt not far away, and as soon as John was strong enough to handle his musket well, he in his turn was detailed to serve as a ranger in the scouting-parties that were kept constantly scouring the woods at the north and west, in search of the skulking foe. He was not old enough to be accepted as a volunteer by the noted captains Lovewell and White, in their scalping excursions, but he no doubt listened with envious admiration to the thrilling stories of their prowess, told by his neighbors, the local heroes of Indian warfare, when they brought home their bloody spoils of ambush and slaughter. The life with its peculiar restraints and privations, yet large liberty, could but favor expansion of character, and promote hardihood and self-reliance.

Upon attaining manhood, John Whetcomb received a moiety of his father's estate, coming into possession of the homestead in Bolton, then described as one hundred and thirty acres of land, with buildings. Limestone had been discovered upon or near this land, and the manufacture of lime became, in after time, the source of a generous income to him; the product of his kiln exceeding that from any other quarry in Eastern Massachusetts. He was married to Mary Carter, June 12, 1735. She died in February, 1744, at the age of twenty-six, leaving three daughters. The following year he took a second wife, Becky Whetcomb, a girl of eighteen, who, in due time, made him father of six more daughters and three sons. The twelve children all lived to a ripe age, surviving their father.

In the absence of all muster-rolls of the two companies that enlisted from Lancaster and vicinity in 1745, to serve with Colonel Samuel Willard at the siege of Louisburg, it cannot be told whether John Whetcomb volunteered in that popular and brilliantly successful expedition. If in the service, it was not as an officer; but three years later his name appears with the title lieutenant, in the pay-roll of the Lancaster troop sent in pursuit of a party of savages fleeing for Canada with the trophies of a murderous raid. He had become the foremost citizen of Bolton. As regularly as the March town-meeting came he was chosen one of the selectmen, and usually held one or two other town offices. When, in May, 1748, he was first elected a member of the General Court, he could not be persuaded to accept the honor, and Bolton was unrepresented; but thereafter, until called to a higher civil office in 1773, he was nearly always the town's representative, when any was chosen, holding that office for at least twenty years. In 1754, he was appointed justice of the peace. He had gained recognition in all the country around as an able man of affairs, whose word was an ample bond.

Whatever his previous military experience may have been, he had won fair repute by it, for, upon the breaking out of the French and Indian War, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the regiment raised by Colonel Samuel Willard, jr., for the first Crown Point expedition. He was with his command in the desperate battle of September 8, 1755, at Lake George, and at the close of the campaign led the regiment home, having been promoted to the colonelcy, October 27, at the death of Willard.

In the spring of 1756, the Council, when organizing a second expedition against Crown Point, resolved to establish a Committee of War, with headquarters at Albany, "to take care for the transportation of provisions and other stores for the use of the forces of the Province." Colonel Whetcomb was one of the three finally appointed upon this committee,

and is found busy with his official cares during the summer and autumn. Though onerous, his duties were not complicated by any grand strategic movement, for, owing to the lethargy of Abercrombie and Loudoun, the army did not leave its original base of supplies.

In 1758, the vigorous policy of Pitt, and the payment of the Provincial claims for military expenditures aroused Massachusetts to enthusiastic preparation for a renewal of the struggle with the traditional foe. John Whetcomb went to the frontier, again as lieutenant-colonel, his brother serving under him as captain. It was his regiment, led by its colonel—Jonathan Bagley, another forgotten hero of this war—that made the victorious charge upon the French advance guard near Ticonderoga, on July 5, in which Lord Howe, the inspiring genius of the army, was slain. For so brief an engagement—it lasted but an hour—the regiment's loss was quite heavy. Reverend John Cleaveland, chaplain of the command, was the intimate friend of Colonel Whetcomb and occupied the same log-hut with him in the encampment at Lake George. From Cleaveland's diary, and that of the regimental surgeon, Caleb Rea, many interesting particulars respecting the conduct of the camps can be gleaned, but they contain nothing that pictures the personality of their lieutenant-colonel, or discloses what part he had in the foolhardy assault upon Ticonderoga, which ended the dismal record of Abercrombie's blundering.

The following year, Colonel Whetcomb was probably not in the service, but in 1760 he commanded one of the five Massachusetts regiments in General Amherst's army assigned to the right wing, which, under Colonel William Haviland, moved out from Crown Point, August 10, in batteaux, for the invasion of Canada. His orderly-book for this, the closing campaign of the long war, is preserved in the Lancaster Library. It contains rosters of the eighteen companies of his command—which numbered about eight

hundred men—and the general orders received between August 11 and November 9. Nearly forty deaths are noted in the rosters, mostly chargeable, it is to be presumed, to small-pox, and camp disorders, engendered by toil and exposure; for no very resolute opposition from the enemy was encountered during the month spent in the advance upon Montreal. The victory speedily won and its fruits secure, the Provincials, both officers and men, hoped to be dismissed and return to farms and families needing their care; but for two months more the grumbling, discontented yeomen were kept delving at fortifications and winter barracks for the battalions of regulars that were to garrison Crown Point. When these were at last completed, arms and tents were turned over to the ordnance officer, and Colonel Whetcomb led his men across Vermont, then an unbroken wilderness, to the Connecticut river at Charlestown, and thence homeward through the New Hampshire woodlands.

Ten years passed in which the Colonel's sword rusted, but his flocks and lands increased, and his services as magistrate were in constant request. Suddenly, in that green valley which slumbers in the evening shadows of the Wataquodock hills, there arose a fierce conflict concerning church polity, familiarly known as the Goss and Walley war,—so named from the two clergymen forced to become rivals in the contest. It was born of the temper of the times, and John and Asa Whetcomb were the prime exponents of that temper in the eastern part of Worcester county. The revolt against the autocratic claims of the clergy, in which the Whetcombs were leaders, was but an episode, a bubbling over of the boiling wrath against political tyranny. The radicals took up the Puritan cry "no bishops," because they dared not yet shout their war-cry "no king." The overturn of the humble Bolton pulpit jarred, as with an earthquake shock, all the churches round about it. The controversy was ostensibly concerned only

with the powers of ecclesiastical councils and the arrogated right of the minister to negative the vote of the brethren; but it is noticeable that when a too patriarchal shepherd was pushed from his pulpit throne to make way for the instalment of one less insistent upon dignities, the registers show that the tories all continued to present their babes for baptism to the old incumbent, while the radicals all patronized the new one.

A young and angry clerical pamphleteer, during the wrangle, once sneeringly referred to our colonel as "a justice of a very slender capacity"; but an able respondent dedicated *his* pamphlet to Whetcomb, as a well-known champion of civil and religious liberty, and stigmatized the sneer of his assailant as impudence, sufficiently answered by the long service of the colonel as the town's honored representative. Whetcomb was one of the ninety-two who, in 1768, voted not to rescind, at royal dictation, the Massachusetts Representatives' circular-letter to the Colonial Assemblies. The public estimation of his capacity and character was further shown in 1773, by his election to a seat in the Council. He was, however, so distrustful of his qualifications for the higher office, that he modestly begged to be allowed to remain in the lower branch of the legislature.

When the spirit of republicanism in the province of Massachusetts had been, by various causes, wrought up to the rash venture of rebellion against the acts of Parliament, her shrewd political managers saw the necessity of a thorough re-organization of the militia, and promptly set about the work. Military leaders of ability, tested in actual campaigning, there were in abundance. The younger of the heroes who took part in the capture of Louisburg, in 1745, were hardly past the prime of life, and colonels and captains who had earned their titles in the conquest of Canada, were to be found in every town. Though mostly clad in homespun, often uncourtly in manners, and far from masters in the in-

tricate science of tactics, these officers had not forgotten the many practical lessons taught them during five years of war, —they had fresh in mind the costly blunders of the martinets sent from England to take command over them —they yet smarted under the supercilious treatment they had always experienced from those holding the King's commission. The majority of them were active in the democratic ferment of the times, although two of the most conspicuous for their military attainments and gallant services in the field, Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles and Colonel Abijah Willard, belonged to the conservative party; the former being an avowed royalist, the latter, luke-warm, perhaps, in his allegiance, but bound by many ties to the friends of monarchy.

Brigadier-General Jedediah Preble, a member of the Council, who, in date of commission and soldierly reputation, ranked second only to Ruggles, was selected by the second Provincial Congress as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, and four others, all members of the same elective body, were chosen general officers. They were: Honorable Artemas Ward, Colonel Seth Pomeroy, Colonel John Thomas and Colonel William Heath, taking rank in the order named. These appointments created some heart-burnings, for General Ward's reputation was chiefly political, his rank in service never having been higher than lieutenant-colonel, and General Heath had never seen service. General Preble, who was nearly seventy years of age, declined his commission, and on February 15, 1775, Colonel John Whetcomb's name was added to the list of generals, the member of the Congress from Bolton being desired "to wait upon Hon. John Whetcomb, Esq., with a copy of his being elected a general officer, and desire his answer whether he will accept that trust, as soon as may be." He had already been chosen their colonel by the line officers of the Lancaster regiment of minute-men. He accepted the duties of both offices. Of the five Massachusetts generals thus appointed, Seth Pomeroy was the

oldest by seven years, but Whetcomb had earliest won the rank of colonel in service, and could claim the most varied experience in military affairs; while the three younger officers much surpassed both, in the advantages which a liberal education gives.

The morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, found General Whetcomb at his home, which was, by several miles, nearer Concord than were those of his company commanders. When, therefore, the courier dashed up to his door announcing the long-expected raid of the British soldiers from Boston, after despatching the necessary orders to his field-officers, he no doubt galloped towards the scene of conflict with such escort as hastily assembled,—for he came upon the bloody field and took part in the fighting that day, as attested by General Heath in his Memoirs. General Ward did not reach Cambridge until the next afternoon, when a council of war was held, at which Whetcomb was one of the three generals present. May 6, the Provincial Congress passed a resolve appointing General Whetcomb and Colonel Benjamin Lincoln muster-masters of the State's army. In declining the position, the General excused himself by pleading the engrossing demands upon his time of "various avocations," and his brother was then chosen to be Colonel Lincoln's associate.

The third Provincial Congress, on June 13, elected John Whetcomb "first major-general of the Massachusetts army," Artemas Ward having been made commander-in-chief, and John Thomas lieutenant-general, the previous month. The next day Joseph Warren was chosen "second major-general," and committees were appointed to wait upon the two officers-elect and report their response. Whetcomb, either from modesty, or, feeling the weight of years and increasing cares, hesitated formally to accept the commission, whereupon, the Congress, on June 16, "ordered, that Col. Richmond, Doct. Taylor and Mr. Partridge be a committee to draw a complaisant letter to General

Whetcomb, to desire a more explicit answer respecting his acceptance of the post of first major-general." The letter and reply were as follows :—

WATERTOWN, June 16, 1775.

Sir :—Your letter wherein you express yourself willing to continue in the service of this Colony, until the army is regulated and properly encamped, and then rely on a discharge was read with much concern by this Congress, who earnestly hope you will continue in office till the conclusion of the campaign, and must beg your further and more explicit answer.

To the Hon^{ble} Congress.

Whereas you Desire of me to Give a more Explicit Answer as to my Opintment, as the Surcumstances of the army is so Deficuilt and the Enemy so ner, I excep the Ser-vis to Do my Duty, as far as I shall Be Able.

JOHN WHETCOMB Col^o.

Cambridge, June y^e 22^d, 1775.

John Whetcomb was in active service at Cambridge before and during the battle of Bunker's Hill. Having received official notice that he had been made first major-general,—and Lieutenant-general Thomas being in command of the right wing, and General Putnam of the left,—he was of course next in rank to the commander-in-chief at the centre of the patriot lines investing Boston. We accordingly find in a newspaper of the period this question asked : "as there was no general officer that commanded on Bunker's Hill, was it not his duty to have been there?" The author of the query—who was a colonel, and on June 17, near enough the battle-ground with his regiment to have two men wounded,—was not sufficiently endowed with the spirit of *prophecy* to suspect that General Putnam was the "Commander at Bunker's Hill"; and, moreover, ignored the fact, which Whetcomb doubtless knew, that Generals Pomeroy and Warren were at the front, and could

have assumed command there. The whole testimony in the court-martial for trial of Colonel Scammons goes to show that General Whetcomb was in his place, guarding, with some forces now unknown, that important strategic position, Lechmere Point. Whether stationed there by orders of his superior is not recorded, and is not material, since it was wise military prevision to expect attack in that quarter and prepare for it. Indeed, the British generals were criticised severely at the time, and have been censured since by high authority, for not making their main assault there. Whetcomb, when the arena of the conflict was determined, — if we may judge from the only act of his, on that day, which has been recorded for us, — was engaged at his post of duty in ordering such bodies of troops as he found available to the re-enforcement of Prescott.

The selection of general officers announced by the Continental Congress in June, 1775, was made with a careless disregard of previous commissions or claims for services rendered, and caused great dissatisfaction, not only to the veteran colonels of the last war, but among the soldiers by whom they were almost idolized. It might well be, that Whetcomb would feel aggrieved by the omission of his name from the list of Continental brigadiers, as did Pomeroy and Thomas by the rank assigned them in the list. There at once arose a clamor for revision of the appointments, so general and wrathful, that Washington withheld the commissions and notified Congress of the fact. The Provincial Assembly sent the following letter to Whetcomb and other slighted officers :—

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, July 22, 1775.

Sir: This house approving of your services in the station you were appointed in the army by the Congress of this Colony, embrace this opportunity to express their sense of them, and at the same time to desire your Continuance with the army, if you judge you can do it without impropriety, till the final determination of the Continental Con-

gress shall be known in regard to the appointment of General officers. We assure you that the Justice of this House will be engaged to make you an adequate compensation for your services. We have such intelligence as affords us confidence to suppose, that a few days will determine whether any such provision shall be made for you as is consistent with your honor to accept, and shall give you encouragement to remain in the service.

By Order of the House.

The Continental appointments superseding the Provincial, John Whetcomb had no further part in the siege of Boston. June 5, 1776, he was commissioned a brigadier-general in the Continental army, and Washington then declared his intention to assign him at once to the command of the forces in Massachusetts, relieving General Ward who had tendered his resignation because physically disqualified for active duty. But Whetcomb, following the example of Seth Pomeroy, chose not to accept the recognition of his services and ability which had come so late. In returning the commission he asked "to be excused on account of age, and a diffidence of not being able to answer the expectation of Congress." The next month he was again elected a member of the Council, in which body he served with credit during four years, and then passed from public view to the quiet of his rural home.

In the town which his whole life honored, no traditions are rife that tell us of his form or personal traits. His sons are remembered as men of ordinary stature and mould, good citizens of fair abilities. John Whetcomb obviously owed his great and lasting popularity to such qualities as made Prescott, Pomeroy and Stark historic names. He was a republicanized Puritan, a zealous, unselfish patriot, a man of action, ignorant of rhetoric, not given to bluster. Uneducated, and not disposed to over-rate his own powers, he rose to command by native force of character. He must have been brave in battle, and gifted with personal magnetism and tact, for volunteer soldiers followed him with love

and respect through campaign after campaign ;—exemplary in life, for he was looked up to in the church, and his enemy spoke nothing ill of him ;—impartial in judgment, for in his day and limited sphere his name stands oftenest in the records as moderator, arbitrator and magistrate ;—energetic in administration, for those high in authority sought his aid ;—judicious in legislation and council, for electors did not tire of honoring him with their unsought suffrages.

BOY LIFE IN A MASSACHUSETTS COUNTRY TOWN
THIRTY YEARS AGO.

BY G. STANLEY HALL.

BETWEEN the ages of nine and fourteen, my parents who then lived in a distant town very wisely permitted me to spend most of the school-less part of these five years, so critical for a boy's development, with a large family on a large farm in Ashfield of this State. Although this joyous period ended in 1860, the life, modes of thought and feeling, industries, dress, etc., were very old fashioned for that date and were tenaciously and proudly kept so. In more recent years, as I have come to believe that nowhere does the old New England life still persist more strongly or can be studied more objectively, I have spent portions of several summers, with the aid of a small fund placed in my hands for the purpose, in collecting old farm tools, household utensils, furniture, articles of dress, and hundreds of miscellaneous old objects into a local museum, a little after the fashion of the museums of Plymouth, Salem and Deerfield. I have interviewed all the oldest inhabitants for details of customs, industries, persons, become interested in a map of the original farms, verified in part by old walls and cellar holes and apple-trees, and compiled a brief history of the town. My vacation interest grew into a record partly because so many facts of the early life and thoughts of old New England are still unrecorded and are now so fast passing beyond the reach of record, with the lamented decay of these little old towns, partly because despite certain evils this life at its best appears to me to have constituted about the

best educational environment for boys at a certain stage of their development ever realized in history, combining physical, industrial, technical with civil and religious elements in wise proportions and pedagogic objectivity. Again: this mode of life is the one and the only one that represents the ideal basis of a state of citizen voters as contemplated by the framers of our institutions. Finally, it is more and more refreshing in our age, and especially in the vacation mood, to go back to sources, to the fresh primary thoughts, feelings, beliefs, modes of life of simple, homely, genuine men. Our higher anthropology labors to start afresh for the common vulgar standpoint as Socrates did, from what Maurice calls the *Ethos*, and Grote the *Nomos* of common people and of a just preceding and a vanishing type of civilization, to be warned with its experience and saturated with its local color.

I have freely eked out the boyish memory of those five years with that of older persons: but everything that follows was in Ashfield within the memory of people living there three years ago. Time allows me to present here but a small part of the entire record, to sample it here and there, and show a few obvious lessons.

I begin with winter, when men's industries were most diversified, and were largely in *wood*. Lumber—or timber—trees were chopped down and cut by two men working a cross-cut saw, which was always getting stuck fast in a pinch which took the set out of it, unless the whole trunk was pried up by skids. Sometimes the fallen trees were cut into logs, snaked together, and piled with the aid of cant-hooks, to be drawn across the frozen pond to the saw-mill for some contemplated building, or, if of spruce, of straight grain and few knots, or of good rift, they were cut in bolts, or cross-sections of fifteen inches long, which was the legal length for shingles. These were taken home in a pung, split with beetle and wedge, and then with a frow and finished off with a drawshave, on a shaving-horse, itself

home-made. These rive shingles were thought far more durable than those cut into shape by the buzz-saw which does not follow the grain. To be of prime quality these must be made of heart and not sap wood, nor of second growth trees. The shavings were in wide demand for kindling fires. Axe-helves, too, were sawn, split, hewn, whittled, and scraped into shape with bits of broken glass, and the forms peculiar to each local maker were as characteristic as the style of painter or poet, and were widely known, compared and criticised. Butter-paddles were commonly made of red cherry, while sugar lap-paddles were made by merely barking whistle wood or bass, and whittling down one end for a handle. Mauls and beetles were made of ash knots, ox-bows of walnut, held into shape till seasoned by withes of yellow birch, from which also birch brushes and brooms were manufactured on winter evenings by stripping down seams of wood in the green. There were salt mortars and pig-troughs made from solid logs, with tools hardly more effective than those the Indian uses for his dug-out. Flails for next year's threshing; cheese-hoops and cheese-ladders; bread-troughs and yokes for hogs and sheep, and pokes for jumping cattle, horses and unruly geese, and stanchions for cows. Some took this season for cutting next summer's bean and hop poles, pea bush, cart and sled stakes, with an eye always out for a straight clean whip stock or fish pole. Repairs were made during this season, and a new cat-hole beside the door, with a laterally-working drop-lid which the cat operated with ease, was made one winter. New sled neaps, and fingers for the grain cradle, handles for shovels and dung-forks, pitch-forks, spades, spuds, hoes, and a little earlier for rakes. Scythes and brooms were home-made, and machines and men of special trades were so far uncalled for. Nearly all these forms of domestic wood work I saw, and even helped in as a boy of ten might, or imitated them in play in those thrice-happy days, while in elder pop-guns,

with a ringing report that were almost dangerous in-doors ; hemlock bows and arrows, or cross bows, with arrow-heads run on with melted lead (for which every scrap of lead pipe, or antique pewter dish was in great demand) often fatal for very small game ; box and figure 4 traps for rats and squirrels ; wind-mills ; weather-vanes in the form of fish, roosters or even ships ; an actual saw-mill that went in the brook, and cut planks with marino and black and white Carter potatoes for logs ; and many whittled tools, toys and ornamental forms and puppets ;—in all these and many more, I even became in a short time, a fairly average expert as compared with other boys, at least so I then thought. How much all this has served me since, in the laboratory, in daily life, and even in the study, it would be hard to estimate.

The home industry in woollen is a good instance of one which survives in occasional families to this day. Sheep, as I remember could thrive on the poorest hay, or orts, the leavings of the neat cattle. In summer they could eat brakes and polipods, if not even hardhack and tansy, and would browse down berry briars and underbrush, while their teeth cut the grass so close that cows could hardly survive in the same pasture with them. The spring lambs were raised in the shed by hand, sometimes as cossets by the children, who often derived their first savings therefrom. Sheep washing day was a gala day when, if at no other time, liquor was used against exposure, and shearing which came a week or two later, was hardly less interesting. A good shearer, who had done his twenty-five head a day, commanded good wages, seventy-five cents or a dollar a day ; while the boys must pull the dead sheep, even though they were only found after being some weeks defunct. Fleeces for home use were looked over, all burrs and shives picked out, and they were then oiled with poor lard. "Bees" were often made to do this. Carding early became specialized and carders were in every town, but the im-

plements were in each family, some members of which could not only card, but could even use the fine, long-toothed worsted combs in an emergency. The rolls were spun at home, novices doing the woof or filling, and the older girls the warp, which must be better. It was taken from the spindle sometimes on a niddy-noddy held in the hand, at two rounds per yard, but more commonly on a reel, in rounds of two yards each. Every forty rounds was signalized on a reel by the snap of a wooden spring or the fall of a hammer, and constituted a knot, four, five, seven, or ten of which (in different families and for different purposes) constituting a skein, and twenty knots making a run. Four seven-knotted skeins of filling, or six of warp was a day's work, though now, I am told, few young women can accomplish so much without excessive fatigue. The yarn doubled if for stockings, after being washed clean of grease, next went to the great dye-tub in the chimney corner. Butternut bark for every-day suits, indigo for Sunday suits, and madder for shirting was the rule. There were also fancy dyes and fancy dyeing, braiding, binding tightly or twisting in a white thread to get the favorite hit or miss, or pepper-and-salt effect, a now almost incredible ingenuity in making up figures and fancy color effects for loom patterns in girls' dresses. Next the filling was quilled and the warp spooled, the former ready for the shuttle, and the latter for the warping bars (both of these latter being often home-made) to which it goes from the scarn or spool-frame. In warping, the leese must be taken with care, for if the order of the threads is lost they cannot be properly thumbled through the harnesses and hooked through the reed, and are good for nothing but to make into clothes lines and the piece is lost. A raddle also acts in keeping the warp disentangled and of proper width before the lathe and tenters can hold it. Sometimes blue and white shirt-formed frock cloth was woven, sometimes kerseys and plaid dress patterns of many colors, or woollen

sheets, and even woollen pillow-cases which were as warm and heavy, although coarser than those the olfactorial zoölogist Jäger advises, and sells to his followers. The complication of harnesses and treadles required to weave some of the more complicated carpet, and especially coverlid patterns, evinced great ingenuity and long study, and is probably now, although the combinations were carefully written down, in most communities a forever lost art. On coming from the loom the cloth was wet for shrinkage, and the nap picked up with cards of home grown teasels and sheared smooth on one side, although in those days this process had already gone to the local fuller. Coarse yarn was also spun from tag-locks which was of course home carded. Knitting was easy, pretty visiting work. Girls earned from two to three York shillings a pair for men's stockings, paid in trade from the store, which put out such work if desired. Shag mittens were knit from thrums or the left-over ends of warp. Nubias and sontags were knit with large wooden needles, and men's gloves, tidies, and clock stockings with ornamental open work in the sides were knit with one hook, and the tape loom held between the knees was kept going evenings.

Domestic flax industry still lingers in a few families. The seed was sown broadcast and grew till the bolls were ripe, when it was pulled and laid in rows by the boys and whipped, in a few days, to get the seed for meal. After laying out of doors for some weeks till the shives were rotten, it was put through the process of breaking on the ponderous flax-break. It was then swingled, hatchelled, and finally hanked. It was then wound on the distaff made of a young spruce top, and drawn out for spinning. Grasshopper years, when it was short, this was hard, and though ticking, meal-bags, and scratchy tow shirts could be made, finer linen products were impossible. After weaving it must be bleached in a good quality of air.

However it was with adults, child life was full of

amusements. Children were numerous in every neighborhood, and though they were each required to be useful, they were in early years left much to themselves and were at home in every house, barn, or shed, within a mile, or more. There was of course coasting; skating; swimming; gool; fox and hounds; and snow-balling, with choosing of sides, lasting for a whole school term, with elaborate forts; cart wheel and men o' morn's in the snow; collar and elbow, or square hold wrestling, with its many different trips, locks and play-ups—side and back hold being unscientific; round ball; two and four old cat, with soft yarn balls thrown at the runner. The older girl-boys spent the hour's nooning in the school-house and either paired off for small games or talks, or played "Here we stand all round this ring," "Needle's eye," "Kitty corners" or "Who's got the button." As in the age of Shakespeare the queen's maids of honor played tag, so here all children, and even adults often played child's games with gusto. In the family, as they gathered about the stove, or sometimes about the grand old fireplace in the back kitchen, with its back-log, crane, pot hooks and trammels, there were stories of the old fort, of bears, wild cats, Indians and Bloody Brook, and other probably unprinted tales perhaps many generations old. There were some who could sing old English ballads that had come down by tradition and which had never been in print in America and more who could sing a comic song or pathetic negro melody. Lord Lovel, Irving, Bunyan, *The Youth's Companion* and many Sunday-school books were read aloud. A pair of skates was earned by a boy friend one winter by reading the entire Bible through, and another bought an accordion with money earned by braiding the plain sides of palm-leaf hats where no splicing was needed, for the women at a cent per side. All families allowed the game of fox and geese, a few permitted checkers, and one, backgammon, which was generally thought to be almost gambling; dominoes were

barely tolerated, but riddles, rebuses and charades were in high favor by old and young and were published in all the local weekly papers. It was here that I learned that card playing, which I had often seen before but did not much understand nor care for, was very wrong, and a boy friend was taught old sledge, and euchre, up over the horse sheds on Sundays between services, by an older son of the officiating minister. There were hull-gull; cats-cradle with two series of changes; string and knot puzzles; odd and even; and most of the games, and many more than those in Mr. Newel's charming, and largely original, book entitled, "The Plays and Games of American Children," connecting many of them conclusively with the sports and pastimes of the English people in the merry olden time of Brandt. One maiden lady, whom we all loved, could spell "The Abominable Bumble Bee with his Head Cut Off," in an inverse House-that-Jack-built fashion, with a most side-splitting effect. There were beech and chestnutting parties; raisings; and days set apart for all the men in the district being warned out by the surveyor to gather and work on the roads with teams. Work was easy, as it was for the town, and stories were plenty. There were huskings, with cider and pumpkin pie, and games on the barn floor, when it was cleared of corn; paring bees, with bobbing, swinging a whole paring thrice around the head, thence to fall on the floor in the form of the fancied initial of some person of the other sex, and counting seeds to the familiar doggerel—one I love, two I love, three I love and say, four I love with all my heart, and five I cast away, etc. Here the apples were quartered and strung, and hung in festoons to dry, all over the kitchen. There were quilting bees for girls about to marry, where the men came in the evening and partook of the new species of rice pop-corn, served in two large milk pans, with perhaps the most delicious home made spruce and wintergreen beer. Spelling schools in which the parents took part, and where the champion

spellers of rural districts, after exhausting several spelling books, agreed to spell each other down on an abridged Worcester's dictionary. There were weekly evening singing schools in winter, and several of us taught ourselves or each other to play the accordion, and fiddle by rote, to dance single and double shuffle on a board, and the steps of waltz, polka, and schottish. Even square dances were attempted to our own music, if we could get a caller-off. This latter was here a stolen sweet, as was the furtive reading of the thrilling tales of Sylvanus Cobb in the *New York Ledger*—sets of which were smuggled around among the boys and read after retiring, or in sheep shed, hay mow, or attic, on rainy days. I must not forget the rage for trapping and hunting, by which we learned much of the habits of crows, hawks, muskrats, woodchucks, squirrels, partridges and even foxes, and which made us acquainted with wide areas of territory. In a regular squirrel hunt organized by choosing sides, and a dinner to the victors paid for by the vanquished party, as determined by counting tails, boys of my age were not old enough to participate. We made collections however for whole seasons, of heads, legs, wings, and tails, as well as of woods, leaves, flowers, stones, bugs, butterflies, etc.

The dull days in haying time brought another sort of education. The men of the vicinity strolled together in a shed, and sitting on tool bench, grindstone, manger, wagons, chopping blocks, and hog spouts, discussed crop prices, ditching, walling, salting cattle, finding springs with witch-hazel, taxes, the preaching, the next selectmen, fence-viewer, constable, and, I suppose a little earlier, wardens, leather-sealers, deer reeves, surveyors of shingles and clapboards and of wheat, field drivers, tithing men, clerk of the market, and pound-keepers, as well as the good brooks and ponds for trouting, or snaring pickerel with brass wire loops and a white-birch-bark light at night, and every sort of gossip. The old uncles who came to be

the heroes of current stories, and who were in a sense ideal men, were shrewd and sharp, of exceeding few words, but these oracular, of most unpromising exteriors and mode of speech, with quaint and eccentric ways which made their quintessential wisdom very surprising by the contrast; while in weather signs and in drugs the old Indian was sometimes the sage. At the opposite extreme was the unseasoned fellow who can be fooled and not get the best of it if he was "run" or played some practical joke. Absurd exaggerations told with a serious air, to test the hearer's knowledge or credulity, were the chief ingredients of this lowery-day wit. Thus the ass's head was not unfrequently clapped on some poor rich fellow, green from the city, or some larger town, suspected of the unpardonable sin of being "stuck up."

In this air a good "nag" has great viability. As a boy here, e. g., I often played hunt, snapping a disabled old flint-lock musket at every live thing in field and forest, for which an adult neighbor used to "run" me unmercifully before the whole shed. Years after, when I was at home on a college outing, he had not forgotten it, and for perhaps a dozen summers since, I have met it. On a recent evening, when walking with a dignified city friend, he met me with the same old grind, "Hello, huntin' much this summer with Philander's old gun?" as he slapped his thighs and laughed till the hills rang, and, though I did not hear him, I am no less certain that he said to the neighbor with him, when they had ridden well by, that I was always a pretty middlin' good sort of a fellow after all, and wasn't stuck up. The joke will no doubt keep fresh another quarter of a century if my friend lives, and there are many more of the same kind. Another grind at my expense illustrates the inventive cleverness of this old Yankee type. As one of the speakers at an annual dinner in honor of the old town Academy, I had been several times introduced as a specimen of the former students of the Academy. One

night at the crowded post-office this shrewd old farmer told, in my presence and for my benefit, the story of old Joe W., who went on the road as a drummer for the old tannery. He said Joe had just experienced religion, and was just then so all-fired honest that he selected, as the samples he was to sell from, pieces of sole leather a trifle below the average quality, instead of above, as an honest drummer should do. He was afraid to hope that Professor N., who presided at the dinner, had experienced religion, but leastways he was so all-fired honest that he leaned over backwards worse than old Joe in calling me out as a sample Academy boy, for although I was middling smart there was not a boy of them who wasn't a plaguey sight smarter than I was. Another of his stories was of Stephen and Ann. They were courting, and she had sat in his lap in the kitchen one Sunday evening for some hours, when she suddenly asked if he was not tired. He gallantly replied, "Not a mite, Ann, keep right on settin'. I was awful tired an hour ago, but now I am numb." "That is the way I believe with Rev. P——'s hearers when his long sermons end."

Then there was the story of old Deacon S., who sold home-made cider brandy or twisted cider, at the rate of twenty-five cents per gallon, but who always used to get his big thumb into the quart measure, which had lost its handle, displacing its cubic contents of brandy. There was another tale of Captain A., who being cheated in a horse trade by Mr. B., called all his sons and grandsons together solemnly, as if for family prayers, told them the circumstances, and enjoined them to cheat B. back to the amount of six dollars, and if they did not live to do it to teach their children and grandchildren to cheat his descendants to the end of time; but a few months later, after another trade with B., the captain convened his family again to say that the score had been paid with interest, and to release them from the covenant. There was the story of Uncle G., who began his courtship by "creepin'

in, all unbeknown," behind his best girl, stealing up close behind her as she was washing dishes, hat on and chair in hand, with the salute, "Well, Sal, feel kind'er sparky to-night?" to which she coquettishly but encouragingly replied, "Well, I reckon p'raps a *leetle* more sorter than sorter not"; and how at last, the minister being away, they rode together on one horse twenty miles alone, and were married. There was the legend of old Squire V., who used to be a great favorite with the girls. Driving up to the town clerk's door one day he told him to have him "published" the next Sunday with Miss B., and drove off. Soon he returned and desired the name changed to Miss C., and finally, after several changes and some minutes of profound deliberation, settled on Miss H., whom he married. There was the tale of the turning of the Deerfield river by the two great but mystic ancestors of one family in town. It once flowed down the gap in Mr. P.'s pasture, through the pond and over the plain of the village, and was stipulated as the northern boundary of the possessions of these pioneers. They were ambitious, and had noticed that new settlers and their depredations followed rivers, so they hired hundreds of Indians to dig with sharpened sticks, day and night, one entire summer, till the stream at length washed over down a more northerly valley so suddenly as to sweep away the dusky maiden beloved by one of the pioneers; with many other romantic incidents. There was the story of the old horse jockey G., who in his travels found a negro of great strength but so simple as to agree to work for him a hundred years, on the expiration of which time the old jockey was to give him all the property and serve him a century; and who cured him of the inveterate habit of sucking eggs by showing him a dozen, apparently freshly laid, in his bed one morning just after he had risen, and frightening him out of the practice by convincing him that he had laid the eggs while he slept. There was the story of the old cat ground

up in the mill with dreadful caterwaulings, and of the two bushels of good rye required to grind the mill-stones clean again. Another, was of the case, famous in history, of the non-conforming Baptist deacon who would not pay his town tax to support the Congregational preaching, and whose apple-trees were dug up by the constable and sold for payment; of the deacon's going to Boston to the General Court, and of his return with a barrel of cider brandy drawn on two poles strapped together, one end of each in the hold-backs and the other end dragging on the ground. There were stories of a noted lady pioneer in the cause of female education, who solicited domestic utensils and produce of every kind for a young ladies' seminary, following the men into stable and around hay mow in her quest; of old Heeber, suspected of witchcraft, who lived apart and was buried outside the cemetery; of old Sloper, who had no friends, and vanished so mysteriously that gradually a detailed story of his murder by a prominent, but not beloved citizen, was evolved; of the old church, stone-cold in winter, with two services and sermons from ten to four, and in summer with the rocks black at nooning with people, mostly members in close communion, eating their Sunday dinner and picking caraway or meetin-seed; of the waste of timber, or the greed of individuals in shackling hogs on the then extensive undivided land or common, and even of the secular variations of the compass to account for the disparity between the old surveys of boundary lines and new ones.

Evenings in the kitchen were spent with light work and gossip, unremitting. Candles, in olden times before cotton, it is said were made by loosely spinning tow-wicking. Candle rods were then whittled out or cut from cat-tails, on which wicking for a dozen candles was put, and they were hung over the back of an old, high, straight-backed chair tipped down, and dipped every few minutes in beef, or better, mutton tallow melted in the tin boiler. Of

course candles grew faster on cold days, but were more likely to crack. Good iron candlesticks were rare, and at balls and parties potatoes were used, and wooden blocks. The evolution, I have heard, was first a "slut" or linen rag in fat, or a bowl of woodchuck's oil with a floating wick through a wooden button. Later came a square strip of fat pork with a thin sliver of wood thrust through to stiffen it and serve as a wick. Fire could still be made by friction of wood in an emergency. The best-raked fire would sometimes go out, and then fire must be borrowed from a neighbor. Those who wished to be independent obtained tinder-boxes with flint and iron, smudged tow and punk. Home-made matches, with brimstone and saltpetre, would catch readily, but friction matches were a great novelty. One of these friction matches, also home-made, of spruce lumber, by the boys, was "drawed" by their incredulous father who, when he found it would really go, put it carefully in his pocket for future use.

The ideal hearth and fireplace of olden times (restored at Plymouth, and especially at Deerfield, Mass., by George Sheldon,) was indeed the centre about which the whole family system revolved. On the swinging crane, evolved from the earlier wooden lug-pole, hung from pot-hooks, chains and trammels, several species of iron pots and brass kettles, in front of a green back-log, so big and long that it was sometimes snaked in by a horse. Below, attached to the upright part of the andirons, was the turnspit-dog, revolved by hand, and sometimes, at a later date, by clock-work, for fancy roasts. There were roasters and dripping pans, and the three-legged spider, in which bread was baked, first on the bottom and then, tipped up to the coals, or else the top was done by a heavy red-hot iron cover. Here rye used to be roasted and mortared for coffee, which was later boiled in water and maple molasses. On the shelf or beam above the fire stood the foot stove; a horn of long, and another of short paper lamplighters; a sausage

stuffer ; tin lanthorn ; mortar ; chafing dish ; runlet ; noggin ; flatirons, perhaps of new fashion, hollowed for hot iron chunks ; tinder-box ; tankard ; and coffee pots ; and high above all a bayoneted flint gun or two, with belt, bayonet sheath, brush and primer. Overhead on the pole hung always a hat or cap on the end, and perhaps a haunch of dried beef, with possibly a ham, a calf's rennet stretched with a springy willow stick inside ; pumpkins cut into long ringlets ; bundles of red peppers ; braided seed corn and dried apples, the latter also perhaps half covering the roof and south side of the house. About the fireplace stood, or hung the bed-warmer, the tongs, and long "slice," a hollow gourd or crook-necked squash ; candle holders with long tin reflectors ; bellows ; woollen holders ; toasting irons ; smoking tongs ; pewter porringer ; spoon moulds ; trivet ; skillet and piggin ; a tin kitchen ; a tin baker and steamer ; a flip iron ; the big dye tub always in the corner, and the high-backed settle in front. Near by stood the cupboard, displaying the best blue crockery, and the pewter, kept bright by scouring with horsetails (*equicetæ*) ; sealed measures, and a few liquids, and perhaps near by a pumpkin Jack-o'-lantern, with an expression when it was lighted in the dark as hideous as that of the head of an Alaskan totem-post.

The grandma was both nurse and doctor, and the children had to gather for her each year a supply of herbs. Chief among these, were pennyroyal, tansy, spearmint, peppermint, catnip, thoroughwort, motherwort, liverwort, mugwort, elecampane, opodeldal, burdock, mayweed, dogweed, fireweed, ragweed, pokeweed, aconite, arnica, scratch-grass, valerian, lobelia, larkspur, mullein, mallow, plantain, fox-glove or nightshade, osier, fennel, sorrel, comfrey, rue, saffron, flag, anise, snakeroot, yarrow, balmony, tag alder, witch-hazel, and bloodroot. Each of these, and many more, had specific medicinal properties, and hung in rows of dried bunches in the attic, and all grew in Ashfield. In Mr.

Cockayne's Leechdom, Wort-cunning and Starcraft, a remarkable collection of Anglo-Saxon medical prescriptions, I have identified the same symptoms for which the same herb was the specific, showing how this unwritten medical lore, as Mr. Mooney calls it in his interesting pamphlet, survives and persists unchanged.

The attic floor was covered a foot deep with corn on the ear, to be shelled winter evenings by scraping across the back of a knife driven into a board; the cobs being fed out to stock, or used for baking and smoking fires. Here, too, were tins and boxes, and barrels of rye and barley, and, later, oats, wheat and buckwheat. In the corner stood, or hung, perhaps, a hand-winnower, a tub of frozen cider apple sauce, an old hat and wig block, a few woodchucks' skins to be made into whip-lashes, a coon skin for a cap, a hand-still for making cider brandy or twisted cider. So, too, the cellar, shed, hog-house, barn, sheep and horse barn, sugar-house and corn-house, were stored with objects of perennial interest to boys.

The "sense of progress," which a recent psychologist writer calls a special, though lately evolved, sense, was by no means undeveloped. Men loved to tell of old times, when maple sap was caught in rough troughs made with an axe, and stored by being simply turned in their places; to show the marks on old maple trees, where their grandfathers tapped by chipping with a hatchet and driving in a bass-wood spout made at a blow with the same iron gouge that prepared for its insertion, and to describe how, later, the rough unpainted tubs with unbarked hoops, and, because smaller at the top, so hard to store and carry, and so liable to burst by the expansion of the ice on freezing, were superseded by the Shaker pails. The old days when sap was gathered by hand with a sap yoke, and stored in long troughs and boiled out of doors in a row of kettles on a pole or crotches, were talked over, with complacent pity, perhaps, while modern pans on a new arch and in a new

sugar-house were kept going all night during a big run which had filled every tun and hogshead, while the best trees were running over.

Hour-glasses, especially to spin by, and dials, were sometimes used, and there were many noon-marks at intervals over the farm. In many families, even where coal and kerosene stoves are used, along with wood, oven-wood is still cut for the old brick oven, which Christmas time, at least, if not once every week or two through the winter, is heated, and then swept out with a wet birch broom. First, the rye and Indian bread is made up in a bread trough and then put on the broad, meal-sprinkled peel, with hands dipped in water to avoid sticking, and very dexterously thrown in haycock and windrow shapes, perhaps on cabbage leaves, on to the bottom of the oven. When this was done it was still so hot that pies could be baked, and, last of all, a bushel of apples was thrown in and the week's baking was over. Many could then tell of the time when, with pudding or mashed potatoes and milk for the meal, no table was set, but each took a bowl of milk and helped himself from the kettle on the stone; or again, the family gathered about the well-scoured table, with no individual plates or butter knives, or waiting on the table, but each took a slice of bread and helped himself from the meat dish, or dipped the brown bread into the pork fat with forks. Wooden, pewter, then earthen plates, was the order of evolution. So, in the dairy, milk used to be set in wooden trays, then in thick, brown earthen bowls, before the modern milk-pans came into vogue. The evolution of the skimmer from the clam shell, through a rough wooden skimmer; of churning, from a bowl and paddle on to the old dasher churn; of straining milk, from the linen rag strainer, up; of bails, from the ear and peg fashion, on; the history of the artistic forms of butter balls, and the stamps used; the very gradual development of the scythe-snath, which no artist ever represents correctly, to the

present highly physiological and very sharply discriminated forms, as well as of the hoe and pitchfork; why are not these and the growth of the corn-sheller, hen-coop, plough, mop, the story of the penstock, the broom, from a bush or bundle of twigs, up through the birch broom with fibres stripped both up and down; of window transparencies, from the hole and oiled paper, etc., as scientific anthropological themes, as the evolution of the fish-hook, arrow-head and spear? Why is not the old soap-making process, with the lye, strong enough to support an egg, dripping from the ash barrel on the circularly grooved board or stone, and the out-of-doors boiling and basket straining, etc.; why is not the old-fashioned semi-annual geese-picking day, with the big apron, great vase-shaped goose basket, and the baby's stocking drawn over the goose's head to keep it from biting; why is not cheese making, when the milk from three families was gathered in a big tub, coagulated with a calf's rennet, broken up into curds and whey by the fingers, scalded, chopped, salted, perhaps saged, hooped, turned, and pared of those delicious curds, and daily greased all summer; why is not the high festivity of road breaking in winter, when all the men and oxen in the neighborhood, often twenty yokes of oxen in one team, turned out after a long storm and blow to break out the roads which the town had not discontinued for the winter, to church, stores, doctor and school, when steers were broken in, sandwiched between the yokes of old cattle, where often up to their backs in a drift, with a sled to which ploughs were chained to each side and a dozen men and boys on it, they could only wait, frightened and with lolling tongue, to be shoveled out; why are not the antique ceremonies and sequelae of butchering day, and the fun and games with pluck and lights and sausages, which city-bred boys were told, and said to believe, are caught like fish; the process of making pearlash and birch vinegar; cider-making; the manifold summer beers and other domestic

drinks, etc., quite as worthy of investigation, of illustration in museums, as the no more rapidly vanishing customs of savage tribes?

At the place and time of which I write many domestic industries were more or less specialized. Farmers' sons often went away to learn trades. Broom making, e. g., was the evening occupation of one member of the family I knew, and I saw the process of planting, breaking, tabling, hatchelling, for the seed was worth about the price of oats, bleaching with brimstone in a big bin down cellar, etc. Tying was the most interesting process. It included arranging the hurls, braiding down the stalks on the handle with wire, pressing in the great vise, and sewing with a six-inch needle, thimble through by leather palms. I was allowed to sandpaper the handles, and once, in a time of stress, when a man was making forty plain Shaker brooms per day, even to put on the gold leaf. The local tanner allowed us to run among his vats, and see the hides salted, pickled, washed and limed, and, best of all, skived over the big beam. Last summer this tanner told me he believed his eighteen months in tanning an ox hide and the six weeks required by modern chemical methods, represented about the relative durability of the two leathers. His trade has lasted on, despite such competition, because his townsmen have something the same idea. Within boy-range, too, was a cooper's shop, a gunsmith, a family who made baskets, a small carding mill, turning shops where wooden spoons, bowls, sieve rims, pen handles, plain broom handles, etc., were made, a general tinker and solderer, besides carpenters, blacksmiths, shoe and harness makers. Some farmers specialized, more or less, in sheep; others in young cattle, or pigs and horses. Some were always lucky with corn, others with rye or wheat, buckwheat, potatoes, grass, etc., to which they had mainly settled after much experiment, or to which the traditions of the farm or family inclined them. Thus, in fine,

there were many grades of progress and versatility.

I have alluded to but few of the occupations of these people. Their commonest industries—planting, fertilizing, gathering each crop—have been revolutionized by machinery and artificial fertilization, within twenty-five years. These, and their religion and beliefs, and domestic social customs, methods of doing their small business, are all fast changing. The women are haggard and worn with their work, the men are sometimes shiftless, and children are very rare. The heart of these communities has left it, and only the shell remains. The quaint, eccentric characters that abound in these towns, types of which may be found faithfully depicted in Mary E. Wilkins's "*A Humble Romance*," to which Senator Hoar kindly called my attention, or, in Mary B. Claflin's "*Brampton Sketches*," kindly sent me by Col. Stoddard, or, in a few of the sketches in "*Profitable Tales*," by Eugene Field, are for the most part types of degeneration well recognized by alienists and characterized by Morel. These are quite different from the no less rustic characters in De Gaspe's "*Old Canadians*, or the work of Du Pray's School." Did the earlier generations work too hard in diggnig stumps and stones, and laying the hundreds of miles of heavy stonewall and clearing the timber? were the conditions of life too severe? Is our race not adapted to the new conditions of climate, soil, water, and, as Dr. Jarvis said, is it still a problem whether the Anglo-Saxon race can thrive in its new American home, or is this but an incident, an eddy in the great onward current of progress? I have no answer, but I know nothing more sad in our American life than the decay of these townlets.

Nowhere has the great middle class been so all-controlling, furnished so large a proportion of scientific and business leaders, been so respectable, so well combined industry with wealth, bred patriotism, conservatism and independence. The farm was a great laboratory, tending, perhaps, rather more to develop scientific than literary

tastes, cultivating persistency, in which country boys excel, if at the expense of versatility. It is, says Prof. Brewer, the question with city parents what useful thing the children can do, while in the country, where they are in great demand on the farm they are, in a sense, members of the firm. Evenings are not dangerous to morality, but are turned to good account, while during the rowdy or adolescent age the boy tendency to revert to savagery can find harmless vent in hunting, trapping, and other ways less injurious to morals than the customs of city life.

Some such training the heroes of '76 had; the independent conditions of communities like this was just the reverse of that of the South at the outbreak of the Rebellion; such a people can not be conquered, for war and blockade would only drive them back to more primitive conditions, and restore the old independence of foreign and even domestic markets. Again, should we ever have occasion to educate colonists, as England is now attempting, we could not do so better than by reviving conditions of life like these.

I close by mentioning an interesting new educational experiment, as a bright spot in this sombre present, which was somewhat feebly but happily tried in Ashfield, as a result of the recently awakened interest in its own antiquities: A prominent citizen, once a teacher, has studied from sources largely unprinted the history of the town, which connects it with the Revolution, and even the French and Indian wars, and on the lines of an old map he has made of the original town surveys, gave an hour per week during part of a winter in teaching history, from a local standpoint in the little Academy, with its score of pupils, and adding many of the antiquities such as this paper has referred to, with free use of the museum, and all with excellent results. A village pastor, who is an excellent botanist, took the class a few times each year on excursions, and the older girls have

gathered and pressed for him in a school museum all the Ashfield plants and grasses, on the basis of which he taught a little botany gratuitously. The Doctor co-operated with them and talked on physiology and hygiene, and brought his microscope and other instruments. A student of an agricultural college has gathered all the Ashfield rocks and minerals, and taught geology. He has gathered cabinets of the local animals, birds, eggs, butterflies and insects, which a summer resident makes a basis of some instruction. A summer boarder was drafted in to teach drawing to all comers half a day per week. This experiment in what I consider co-operative education, begins at home, with what is nearest and often despised. The local Faculty about the teacher give but little time, but their teaching is full of interest and stimulus. They strengthen the teacher whom they really guide, and bring home and school nearer together. This new curriculum is without expense, and altogether may prove a suggestive novelty.

FINANCIAL EMBARRASSMENTS OF THE NEW ENGLAND MINISTERS IN THE LAST CENTURY.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

It may be remembered that at the last annual meeting of this Society one of our older and most learned members suggested as a fit subject for investigation the history of the Christian ministry in Massachusetts, and specially noted "the perplexing and difficult relations of the ministers with the parish at the time of the depreciation of the currency." The materials for an adequate treatment of this subject are not less abundant than the materials which Mr. Weeden has used so admirably in his "Economic and Social History of New England." But they are widely scattered through town and church histories, and their proper collocation would require much more time than has been at my disposal since I was asked to prepare a paper for this meeting. I can hope only to make a slight contribution toward the illustration of the subject, based for the most part on original documents preserved among the Belknap Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and soon to be printed.

Of that society Dr. Belknap was the recognized founder, and besides holding a foremost place among our older historians he was also a parish minister of conspicuous fidelity and usefulness. Jeremiah, or, as he was commonly called, Jeremy Belknap, was born in Boston, June 4, 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1762. After teaching school for a few years he was called at the age of twenty-two to be minister of the church in Dover, N. H., as colleague with the Rev. Jonathan Cushing, who was then far advanced in life and died a few years afterward. At that

time there was an apprehension prevailing among many persons that the contract between a minister and people is like the marriage covenant, "binding for life." By the terms of the call to Mr. Belknap and his acceptance he was to receive one hundred pounds lawful money (\$333.33) yearly, and a further sum of one hundred and fifty pounds (\$500) on his settlement, "which is to provide himself a comfortable house to dwell in during his ministry amongst us." Before accepting these terms he consulted friends better qualified to judge than he was, on the question whether the proposed salary would be sufficient for his "comfortable subsistence in life," if he should have a family. It was their opinion that as he was not to have any parsonage land, there ought to be added to his annual salary "so many cords of wood as will be necessary for the use and convenience of a family during the year." He accordingly expressed a hope that some provision of that kind would be made for him, if he should live to see some of their present expenses terminate. His hope was not realized. It was not, however, until he had been settled ten years that he found himself involved in serious difficulties. He had been ordained in February, 1767,—twenty churches being represented in the Council convened on that occasion; and in the following June, he was married to Ruth Eliot, sister of Samuel Eliot, a distinguished benefactor of Harvard College.

With the addition of a growing family, and the rapid depreciation of the currency which began soon after the opening of the war of the Revolution, he found himself deprived of a large part of his salary and with debts pressing heavily on him. For the three years, 1777–1779, there was due to him, according to the scale of depreciation, upward of one hundred and twelve pounds, or more than one-third of his salary. At this time, some attempts were made to relieve the minister from his embarrassments. So early as March, 1777, he wrote to the parish selectmen

that in consequence of the increase of his family and the dearth of some of the necessities of life he found it impossible to live on his salary. After several adjournments of the annual meeting of the parish, it was voted to make their reverend pastor a present of twenty pounds. At a special meeting held in the following January, it was voted to make him a grant of sixty pounds, lawful money, "for his better support," but as this vote was found to be "insufficient to answer the end in view," and, "disagreeable to many persons," it was reconsidered six weeks later, and nothing further was done during that year. In April, 1779, Mr. Belknap submitted to the parish a plan "for his future support" ingeniously calculated to make his salary, whether paid in the necessities of life or in money, equivalent to what it was for the first seven years of his ministry. When it was communicated to the parish meeting the parish voted not to act on the plan at present, but "to let it lay." They were either unable or unwilling to face the difficulty of a depreciating currency, and they contented themselves with voting Mr. Belknap "a present of four hundred pounds." About one-half of this sum was paid in Continental bills, and the other half, Mr. Belknap took off the rate list from the names of such persons as paid him the full value of their last year's taxes. In November of the same year, it was "voted, to make an addition to Mr. Belknap's salary of fourteen hundred pounds for the present year." At the time this vote was passed, the grant, according to the scale of depreciation, was "equal to nearly three-quarters of his salary, but before it was all paid was not equal to one-fifth." The next year his salary was fixed on the price of corn, "the plentiest and cheapest article then in the country." But the relations between the minister and the parish were still much strained, and they so continued during the remainder of his residence at Dover.

In August, 1782, he gave from the pulpit a detailed account of his relations with the parish from his settlement

down to that time, with a statement of the difficulties under which he was then laboring. In conclusion he told them that if no regard was paid to what he had then said he should be under the painful necessity of laying the whole affair before an Ecclesiastical Council. Another parish meeting was thereupon held, at which it was voted "to pay the deficiency of his salary occasioned by the fluctuating situation of the paper currency," if any should be found by a committee appointed to examine into the matter. This committee found that there was due to him £112. 7. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ lawful money, as already stated. Their report was accepted, and a note for the amount was given to Mr. Belknap; but no part of it was paid during the next two or three years except about £30, for which one of the collectors assumed a debt due by the minister. Early in 1784, a demand was made on him for the payment of a note due to the estate of one of his deceased creditors in Boston; and in settlement of it he assigned to the administrator the parish note. Payment of the note, however, was evaded; and in June, 1785, a suit was brought against the parish, on which judgment was entered, in September, for £85. 10. 5 damages and £4. 12 costs. Execution was issued and levied on the body of one only of the three wardens by whom the note was signed, and was made returnable at the April Term in the following year. Meanwhile, it was proposed that lumber instead of cash should be given in discharge of the execution, and this proposition was accepted; but less than one-third of the required quantity was delivered before the last day on which the execution was returnable. Under these circumstances the unfortunate parish warden must have gone to jail; and in order to prevent this unsatisfactory issue of the suit, Mr. Belknap, acting in behalf of his creditor, indorsed satisfaction on the back of the execution and paid the costs, thus releasing the parish from their debt, while his own liability to his creditor remained.

By this time his patience had become wholly exhausted;

and on the last day of April he made an address from the pulpit formally resigning to the parish for himself, his heirs, and all persons claiming from, by, or under him, all right and title to any salary which might after that day become due to him by virtue of any contract or engagement between him and them. "The consequence of this," he said, "will be that in future my connexion with this parish will be altogether voluntary, and may be dissolved at the pleasure of either party, or if continued will be upon a different footing from what it has been heretofore." This declaration led to another parish meeting, at which a committee was chosen "to converse with the Rev^d Mr Belknap relative to the difficulties subsisting between him and the parish." The conference was in writing; and the committee asserted on their part that they had no doubt "respecting the present validity of the contract between him and the parish, being fully convinced from reason that a contract entered by the joint consent of two parties cannot be legally dissolved, but by their mutual consent and approbation, or by some jurisdiction competent for the purpose." To this Mr. Belknap rejoined in writing that his opinion as to the dissolution of the contract remained unchanged "because my reason teaches me that a contract unperformed on one part and given up on the other is really dissolved." However, that nothing might be wanting to make the dissolution complete, he desired that a parish meeting should be called "to dissolve the contract which is now supposed to subsist, or join with me in choosing and calling an Ecclesiastical Council, to whom the question concerning the validity of the contract or the propriety of dissolving it may be submitted for their opinion and advice." Finally, on the 27th of September, 1786, the parish voted that the contract should be dissolved "in compliance with the desire of the Rev. Mr. Belknap."

Subsequently some unsuccessful attempts were made to agree on a new contract, with a view to Mr. Belknap's remaining in Dover; but they need not be detailed here.

After considerable delay a final settlement of all the financial questions was effected, in February, 1787, by Mr. Belknap's making a free gift of £84. 19.— $\frac{3}{4}$ to the parish, and their giving him a note on interest for the balance of his claim, £16. 1. $2\frac{1}{4}$; and on the 8th of March, the brethren of the Church voted "that the pastoral relation betwixt the Rev. J. Belknap and this Church be at his request dissolved." He had already accepted a call from the Church in Long Lane, Boston, afterward widely known as the Church of William Ellery Channing and Ezra Stiles Gannett; and on the 4th of April he was regularly installed over it. By the terms of his call he was to receive a weekly salary of two pounds eight shillings (\$8); "and in case our society shall increase and the pews be all occupied, the salary shall then be increased to a comfortable support." That was a day of small salaries. In 1796, the largest salary paid to any Congregationalist minister in Boston was to Peter Thacher of the Brattle-street Church, who received a weekly salary of seven pounds four shillings and his wood and house rent. Dr. Freeman at King's Chapel had an annual salary of £250 and twenty-five cords of wood. The other salaries were much smaller. Dr. Belknap's salary at that time was eighteen dollars a week, having been increased three times in nine years. He died suddenly of apoplexy, June 20, 1798, honored and beloved by his people.

The difficulties of Mr. Belknap at Dover were not exceptional. The balance of the salary due to his venerable colleague, Jonathan Cushing, was not paid until fifteen years after Mr. Cushing's death, when his heirs obtained a judgment against the parish. This judgment was satisfied out of money raised to pay Mr. Belknap. When Mr. Thacher went from Malden to Brattle-street, in January, 1785, his parish owed him two hundred and nine pounds fourteen shillings and eight pence; and the story was circulated that he was nearly reduced to starvation. This he denied in an advertisement in the *Independent Chronicle*, in which he

said "Though I have suffered great inconvenience by my salary's not being punctually paid me, yet (for ought I know) the people there have been as punctual in their payments as other parishes in the country generally are." It is worth while to add that the Malden parish made a claim on the Brattle-street Church for pecuniary compensation on account of the loss of their minister; and accordingly a subscription of three hundred pounds (\$1,000) was raised among the members of the Brattle-street Society, out of which the debt to Mr. Thacher was paid. In March, 1780, Rev. John Eliot, minister of the New North Church in Boston, wrote that by the terms of his settlement the depreciation in the currency was to be made up every three months. "Before the fortnight expired after the three months were ended, I applied for my due. The deacons and others said I had better wait till after May meeting when they would pay all together. I knew that in this case much would be set down to my loss; and I therefore insisted upon the settlement before more time elapsed. I told them peremptorily that, if they did not call the Society together, I would; that I had kept firmly to my engagement, and only begged they would do the same. The consequence was they have done it, and I have now wherewithal to live on: otherwise I must have been naked and starved." In July of the following year, he wrote: "I am in a confounded strait for money; or at present spend as much as I get, though not so much as is due from my people. Saturday night generally makes me even with the world: and with regard to temporal things I am neither better nor worse than I was the week before. . . . Everything is so abominably high that it is difficult to procure the necessaries of subsistence, though the bounties of Providence roll in upon us like a flood. Ministers' salaries are inadequate to a support with a family." These instances will help to set in a clearer light some of the difficulties of a minister's life in New England, in the latter part of the last century, arising from the depreciation of the currency.

A SINGULAR ANCIENT WORK.

BY FREDERICK W. PUTNAM.

DURING the past summer, a singular ancient work on a high plateau in the Little Miami valley at Foster's, Warren county, Ohio, was explored under my direction with the assistance of Messrs. Cresson and Dorsey of the Peabody Museum.

This remarkable structure proved to be a circumvallation over half a mile in extent. Where it was carried across the northern portion of the plateau the bank is nine to twelve feet high above the level of the field, and is about fifty-five feet in average width. Across the southeastern portion, the bank, though partly destroyed, is still several feet high. Around the western edge of the hill, the rise above the level of the enclosed portion is hardly perceptible, but the structure extends into the sides of the hill about fifty feet, and from ten to twenty feet down the sides. The whole circumvallation is made up of a carefully laid wall of flat stones along the outer side several feet in height; behind this are loose stones, both large and small, making nearly half the structure; and behind and over these stones a mass of clay burnt to all degrees of hardness, from that only slightly burnt to great masses of slag, showing that the clay had been subjected to very great heat, in places forming a vitreous surface over the slag, which resembles that from a blast furnace. In many places the limestone had been burnt in varying degree, and here and there large quantities of pure lime were found. Large pieces of charcoal and beds of ashes were discovered in many parts of the structure. At one place on the north side, where the burnt material runs out in the form of a low mound nearly one hundred

feet long and eighty feet wide, there was a larger quantity of charcoal and ashes than in other parts of the work explored. Here was also uncovered a singular wall of small stones about six feet long and two feet high. At every part of the work through which a trench was dug the same story was told,—burnt stones and clay, ashes and charcoal, and the mass of stones, faced on the outer side by a good stone wall. In the northern portion, a few potsherds, two flint points and a few flint flakes were found in the burnt clay, and this was the only evidence discovered of the work of man, except the singular structure itself. Several trenches were made within the enclosure, and the ploughed portion was carefully examined for traces of former habitation and for burials. But with the exception of a few arrow points, found on the surface, not a thing was discovered to indicate that the place had ever been inhabited. And yet this stupendous structure must have been the labor of many persons working for a long time; and it is probable that their habitations were inside the enclosure, while their burial-places must be in the vicinity.

This is one of the most remarkable structures I have seen, and one that should be more thoroughly examined before we can hope to get at its meaning, or find the additional evidence of occupation which will lead to a knowledge of the people who did this strange work. Its singular construction and the manner in which the extensive burning was accomplished, as well as the uses of the work itself, make one of the greatest puzzles for the archæologists.

Should it prove possible, further explorations will be made here in order to clear up the mystery in which it is involved. It is locally known as "The Fort," but although well situated it does not seem at all to answer the requirements of a fortification; and, apparently, if such was intended, a bank could have been made of ordinary clay with a retaining stone-wall that would have answered the purpose as well without all this labor of burning.

ACTION OF THE COUNCIL.

DEATH OF GEORGE BANCROFT.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Council was held, under a call from the President, at the hall of the Society, on Tuesday, January 20, 1891, at 3.30 o'clock P. M.

President SALISBURY in the chair.

In the absence of the RECORDING SECRETARY, Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE, was chosen Secretary *pro tem*.

President SALISBURY announced the purpose of the meeting as follows :—

Gentlemen of the Council. I have called you together to take notice of the death of our first vice-president, Hon. George Bancroft, LL.D., which took place in Washington on the 17th instant. His character, intellectual ability and public services are to-day in the thoughts of a large portion of our countrymen. Not alone in the United States, but in Europe have the fame and works of our associate become familiar and honored, so that we are assured of sympathy from beyond the seas. Not often is a society called upon to consider the life of one whose record was so complete and well rounded, and whose aims and objects had been so uniformly successful.

Mr. Bancroft was elected a member of this Society in 1838, and has been, with Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, one of the two earliest members in time of election. From 1877 to 1880 he was Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, and from 1880 he has been vice-president. His use of our library has been large, and his services during the long period of his membership are now remembered with gratitude. As Secretary of Domestic Correspondence for

three years, he was called upon with the confidence that any matter requiring tact and delicacy, could safely be entrusted to his careful management.

In October, 1883, Mr. Bancroft wrote the report of the Council, treating as his subject an incident in the life of Alexander Hamilton, and his retirement from the position of Secretary and Chief-of-Staff of Gen. Washington in 1781. He has often shown his interest in the proceedings and welfare of this Society since that time, and in September, 1886, was present and participated in a meeting of our council. It is pleasant to remember that his father, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., was one of the six petitioners for an act of incorporation for this Society in 1812, and was vice-president for fifteen years.

I will ask Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH to express the views of the Council upon the death of Mr. Bancroft.

TRIBUTE OF JUDGE ALDRICH.

In the recent death of Mr. George Bancroft at his home in the city of Washington, the country has lost one of its most illustrious citizens, and this Society has, by the same event, been deprived of its most eminent domestic member; one whose name in its list of officers has given additional distinction to the American Antiquarian Society among all other kindred associations in this and foreign lands. He had the good fortune which rarely falls to the lot of men who undertake great enterprises, requiring many years for their accomplishment, for he lived long enough to complete the great work upon which he entered in early manhood, of writing the history of his country, from its first beginnings in the colonial period until it rightfully assumed its proud position as a nation among the great powers of the earth. He was not only able to bring that work to completion by the publication of the tenth volume just forty years after the publication of the first, but he also, in the centennial year, 1876, published a carefully revised edition of the

whole work in six volumes, leaving it as a monument of learning, of industry, and of persevering and accurate research, which will give it a permanent place among the great historical compositions of the world. One of his contemporaries and fellow-members in this Society says of him :

“Our eminent associate, Bancroft, is second to no historian in the thoroughness of his investigation, in conscientious accuracy of detail, and in artistic skill and pictorial power.” There is a deep and calm philosophical speculation underlying and giving direction and tone to all his historical writings. He does not look upon events as detached and unrelated occurrences, but as forming a continuous and related whole. “It is,” he declares, “this idea of continuity which gives vitality to history. No period of time has a separate being; no public opinion can escape the influence of previous intelligence. We are cheered by rays from centuries, and live in the sunny reflection of all their light. What though thought is invisible, and even when effective, seems as transient as the wind that raised the cloud? It is yet free and indestructible; can as little be bound in chains as the aspiring flame; and, when once generated, takes eternity for its guardian. We are the children and heirs of the past, with which, as with the future, we are indissolubly linked together; and he that truly has sympathy with everything belonging to man, will, with his toils for posterity, blend affection for the times that are gone by, and seek to live in the vast life of the ages. It is by thankfully recognizing these ages as a part of the great existence in which we share, that history wins power to move the soul. She comes to us with tidings of that which for us still lives, of that which has become the life of our life. She embalms and preserves for us the life-blood, not of master-spirits only, but of generations of the race. It sees the footsteps of providential intelligence everywhere, and hears the gentle tones of her voice in the hour of tranquillity:—

“ ‘Nor God alone in the calm we find;

He mounts the storm and walks upon the wind.’ ”

After the completion of his general history of the United States, Mr. Bancroft began, and in 1882 published, what must be considered a most instructive history of the Constitution of the United States. Still later, he published in pamphlet form a review and searching criticism of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the notorious legal tender case, in which that Court held for the first time that Congress possessed the constitutional power to make paper money a legal tender in the payment of debts. For wealth of learning, power of reasoning and eloquence, Mr. Bancroft's argument against the conclusions of the Court in that case has rarely been surpassed in any cause or in any court by the most eminent forensic advocates and jurists.

Soon after Mr. Bancroft's graduation from Harvard College, at the age of seventeen, he went to Europe for the purpose of prosecuting his studies in language, philosophy and history, and spent some years in several of the leading German universities. While thus employed, and during the years immediately following, he wrote essays on a variety of subjects connected with his studies: *On Studies in German Literature,—its General Characteristics*; *The Revival of German Literature*; *Men of Science and Learning*; *The Age of Schiller and Goethe*; and translations in verse from both those great poets. He also wrote several essays under the titles of: *Studies in History*; *Economy of Athens*; *Decline of the Roman People*; *Russia*; and *The Wars of Russia and Turkey*. These essays, together with *Occasional Addresses*, were published by Mr. Bancroft in one volume in 1855, a volume that will well repay a perusal by any student of history and philosophy, even at this late day, when German literature and philosophy are no longer the possession of a few, but have become the common property of all scholars.

In his essay on the *Economy of Athens*, he contrasts the democracy of that city with that of our own republic, showing the artificial character of the Athenian common-

wealth, and with what a chary hand it conceded the rights of citizenship to the strangers resident on its soil. He proceeds to say: "It is the genius of our institutions to leave everything to find its own natural level, to throw no obstacles in the way of the free progress of honest industry, to melt all the old castes of society into one mass, to extend the rights of equal citizenship with perfect liberality, and to prevent everything like a privileged order in the State." These brief extracts from his early and later writings serve to show Mr. Bancroft's views of the true functions of human governments and of his strong convictions upon the subject of the universal rights of man.

Upon returning from his foreign travels and studies he, in connection with Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell, founded the celebrated Round Hill School, in Northampton, which, under their joint management, attracted large numbers of students from all parts of the country, many of whom became themselves distinguished as scholars or as leaders in public affairs. Among them at one time was John Motley, the accomplished diplomatist, and the historian of the Dutch Republic. After leaving that school, if not before, Mr. Bancroft took an active and conspicuous part in the politics of the times. He was frequently called upon as the orator of his party, and if he did not succeed as a public speaker it must have been because he was too learned and refined for political campaign oratory. He was appointed Collector at the port of Boston, by President Van Buren, which office he held until General Harrison's accession to power.

Upon the organization of President Polk's cabinet, Mr. Bancroft was appointed Secretary of the Navy, which position he held until December, 1846, when he was sent as our Minister to the Court of St. James, and remained there until the accession of General Taylor to the presidency. He then returned to this country and gave his undivided attention to his historical studies and writings, until he ac-

cepted an appointment from President Johnson as Minister Plenipotentiary from this country at the Prussian and afterwards German Court. He held that important post with unusual distinction until 1874, when he was recalled at his own request. He returned home and taking up his residence in Washington and Newport, he passed the closing years of his long and illustrious life among men of a younger generation, honored as few men have been by their contemporaries. The best evidence of his eminent rank among the great diplomats of his age is perhaps the testimony of the great German Chancellor, Bismarck. In a letter to Motley, the Chancellor, then at the height of power, says: "Bancroft is one of the most popular personages in Berlin . . . He represents practically the same great process of development in which Moses, the Christian revelation, and the Reformation appear as stages, and in opposition to which the Cæsarian power of ancient and modern time, the clerical and dynastic prejudices of the people, offer every hindrance, including that of calumniating an honest and ideal minister like Bancroft."

This notice of a great career, brief and altogether inadequate as it is, cannot be further extended at this time. Mention of two or three facts showing Mr. Bancroft's relation to Worcester will only be now added. He was born in Worcester, October 3, 1800. He was the son of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, a distinguished clergyman, who was himself a student and well-known writer of history. Although Mr. Bancroft has been but rarely seen in his native town during the last half-century, yet he has recently furnished plenary evidence that he had not forgotten the place of his birth or become inattentive to the memory of his honored ancestry. He established a few years since what is known as the Aaron and Elizabeth Bancroft scholarship as a memorial of his father and mother, by giving in trust to the city of Worcester the sum of \$10,000, the income of which is to be expended in aiding meritorious young men of Worcester to acquire a liberal education.

All that was mortal of the grand personality of which I have spoken will, by his own order, be buried in our Rural Cemetery. Mr. Bancroft was long a member of this Society, and occasionally he enriched its Proceedings from the overflowing treasury of his historical learning. A just and adequate memorial of this great man's life and works will be prepared by order of the Council for future publication.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN said :—

Among the most interesting incidents recorded in the recently published correspondence of the late John Lothrop Motley are those which have to do with that gentleman's familiar intercourse with Prince Bismarck, while a fellow-student in one of the German universities, and afterwards when they had both been honored by being placed in the highest positions in the gift of their respective countries. Mr. Motley writes in his letters that Prince Bismarck told him that our distinguished countryman, Mr. George Bancroft, stood in the highest esteem in Berlin with the whole intelligent population. As I took up a newspaper this morning and read the despatch from the young German Emperor, sent as a tribute of respect to the memory of one who had had intimate relations with his grandfather, the late King of Prussia, head of the Confederation of Northern Germany and German Emperor, and remembered with what respect Mr. Bancroft was regarded by Prince Bismarck, I realized profoundly the greatness of the opportunities which were afforded him for serving this country in Germany, and felt proud to remember how admirably he had improved those opportunities.

Mr. PRESIDENT, I have never enjoyed the privilege of intimate acquaintance with Mr. Bancroft. Our walks in life have not often crossed, and the difference in our ages may be indicated by the fact that he became a member of

this Society the year after I was born. I remember distinctly, however, how he appeared at the Commencement dinner of the alumni of Harvard College in 1867, as the representative of the class of 1817 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of graduation. As he stood up and spoke in the great dining-hall of the University, every man in the immense assembly of graduates was impressed by the strength of his voice, the firmness of his carriage and the vigor which he showed in all movements of mind and body.

When Mr. Bancroft visited Worcester in 1886, I had the rare felicity of acting as his guide in going about the city, and was with him the larger portion of an afternoon, an evening, and for a few hours on the following morning. I should like some time to prepare an account of that visit, for it recalled to Mr. Bancroft certain reminiscences which it is well should be put in print before they are forgotten. While he was here he showed many of the qualities that have been known as his characteristics. There was apparent the enthusiasm and energy which have always marked his career, the thorough spirit and love of hard work which ever distinguished him, and that conspicuous gallantry in the presence of women which no one ever failed to notice who had been brought in contact with him. Mr. PRESIDENT, it is a source of great satisfaction to me to remember that Mr. Bancroft wished to associate his own name with the memorial which he established here in honor of his father and mother, and that his name will suggest to citizens of Worcester now and hereafter not only the historian of the United States and the great statesman, but one who although long absent from the place of his birth remembered that birthplace in his old age by adding to its educational facilities. It is also a source of satisfaction to me to remember that we have in this city the little house in which Mr. Bancroft was born, and that by his own choice, his remains are being borne hither to find a resting-place in a grave in our own Rural Cemetery.

Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS said :—

MR. PRESIDENT : It seems to me that our late associate, George Bancroft, the most illustrious man ever born in Worcester, furnishes a beautiful and forcible illustration of that love of one's native place, which is inherent in us all, but which not unfrequently finds no expression or proof in the lifetime of its possessor. His boyhood was spent in Worcester, but after college life at Cambridge came studies in foreign lands, and varied experiences in private and public life, so that he never returned to stay in the place of his birth.

About the year 1846 he was here, and although his homes in New York and Newport were within easy distance of his native place he did not after that time revisit Worcester for a period of forty years. Meantime, however, he had established the scholarship at the Worcester High School in memory of his father and mother, and when at the age of eighty-six he did appear here for a little while, he gave substantial evidences of his love for his native place, and received gratifying proofs of the affectionate regard and esteem in which he was held by the citizens of Worcester, to which more extended allusion has been made by our associate, Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN.

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE, speaking of Mr. Bancroft's interest in Worcester, said : A few years ago I had a very pleasant call upon Mr. Bancroft at his Newport residence, in company with our President. At that time he made inquiries for some of his old friends and acquaintances in Worcester, and spoke of old locations with which he was familiar in his boyhood. In a letter received from him some years ago, he stated that at that time he had not visited Worcester since he was ten or twelve years old, except on brief school vacations. This was a few years before the visit mentioned by Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE said:—

What I can say of Mr. Bancroft is scarcely worthy of an occasion like this. I knew him personally only through a visit of two days, nearly ten years ago at Mr. Evarts's house in Windsor, Vermont, where Mr. Bancroft was also a guest. He was then more than eighty years old: his hair and his long beard were snow white; but his slight figure was erect, his step elastic, and there was in his speech and manner a suggestion of vivacity and alertness, uncommon at any age, and extraordinary at his. The remarkable brilliancy and restlessness of his dark eyes added to this impression.

He seemed inclined to talk with me as opportunities offered, somewhat to my surprise, because several of the company were friends whom he had known for many years, and were otherwise, as I supposed, more likely than I to engage his attention. It seemed that the fact of my living in Worcester attracted him, for he spoke much of the town as it was when he knew it, and enquired of the persons whom he remembered.

His manners were both ceremonious and abrupt, an apparent contradiction, but true. His phrases in conversation were formal, and his action or gesture such as implies elaborate courtesy, but these movements were so rapid and compressed, and his words so sharply spoken as to leave a confused impression of punctilious civility and startling curtness.

In Mr. Bancroft's presence you felt that he did not think lightly of himself. He had the air of one to whom the society of great men is familiar and whose opinions are important because their expression may have influenced the destiny of nations. A man who, besides having had a part in making the history of our own country at an interesting period, has been on familiar terms with Bismarck and his master when they were founding an empire, can scarcely help revealing by his manner that his associations have been

with great events and great men. I do not wish to be understood that Mr. Bancroft's manner displayed vanity or suggested condescension. It seemed to me that there was nothing in it which could give offence on that score to the most morbidly sensitive person. On the contrary, his demeanor put his companion distinctly upon his own level so that it seemed to imply: "We (not I) have been familiar with great personages and are their equals."

These were my impressions of Mr. Bancroft, formed during the acquaintance of two days, and confirmed in one or two short conversations with him since. They are not worth much, I fear. But while I know that many members of our Society knew Mr. Bancroft much longer and more intimately than I did, I remember that there are others and yearly will be more who did not know him personally at all.

VOL. VII.

NEW SERIES. *

PART 2.

Horace Davis
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 29, 1891.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 29, 1891, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. WASHBURN, Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE was elected Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read and accepted.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): Robert C. Winthrop, George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Francis A. Walker, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, James P. Baxter, Thomas Chase, A. George Bullock, John N. Brown, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, John F. Jameson.

THE PRESIDENT:—"It is a matter of interest to the Society, I think, to call their attention to a communication received from the oldest of our associates, Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE. He is now in his ninetieth year, and it is very gratifying to the Society to note the interest that he takes

in our proceedings. This letter was directed to our associate, Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, and runs as follows:—

CAMBRIDGEPORT, April 28, 1891.

DEAR SIR:—I regret my enforced absence from the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society to-morrow. I am still under the *daily* care of my physician, but am glad to say that I am gradually, and I think surely, recovering from a three weeks' illness of *la grippe*.

Truly yours,

LUCIUS R. PAIGE.

Hon. S. A. GREEN.

On motion of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, the Secretary was directed "to convey to Dr. PAIGE the salutations of the Society and to assure him of our affection and our desire that his life and health may be prolonged."

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN:—"Dr. GEORGE CHANDLER of Worcester, who has generally been with us, celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday yesterday, and it would seem a very pleasant thing to send our congratulations to him. He wished to be particularly remembered to the older members of the Society to-day, and to have me say that he wished to express to the Society the great interest which he felt in it."

THE PRESIDENT:—"I think it will be very grateful to the Society also to extend their felicitations to our associate, Dr. CHANDLER of Worcester, who is so far advanced in his life career and is among the oldest of our members. Those in favor of the Secretary's extending our felicitations to Dr. CHANDLER will manifest it by the uplifted hand." The motion was unanimously carried.

The report of the Council was read by the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR.

The report of the Treasurer was read by NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.; and the report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

These reports, together constituting the full report of the

Council, were accepted, and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The following-named gentlemen, having been recommended by the Council, were duly elected to membership in the Society, on separate ballots:—

CHARLES P. BOWDITCH, Esq., of Tamworth, N. H.

CHARLES P. GREENOUGH, A.M., of Brookline, Mass.

GEORGE D. ROBINSON, LL.D., of Chicopee, Mass.

EDWIN D. MEAD, Esq., of Boston, Mass.

GEORGE OLCOTT, Esq., of Charlestown, N. H.

And to foreign membership:—

WILLIAM E. H. LECKEY, of London, England.

The following communication, received from Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS of Worcester, was read by the temporary secretary, who stated that the Council had accepted the gift with thanks:—

WORCESTER, April 28, 1891.

To the Council of the American Antiquarian Society:

GENTLEMEN.—In January, 1868, my father, Isaac Davis, established the "Isaac Davis Book Fund," by a gift of \$500, which, with subsequent additions made by him, now amounts to the sum of \$1,500. By the terms of the gift, the income of the fund "is to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts and works of art relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States."

I should be very glad to have my name associated with that of my father, in this work. To this end, and in appreciation of the cordial co-operation of the Society in carrying out his wishes, I offer the American Antiquarian Society the sum of \$5,000 to be added to the principal of the above named fund, the income to be used for the purposes already expressed.

Very respectfully,

EDWARD L. DAVIS.

Mr. J. EVARTS GREENE:—"We all know that the Society has often been largely indebted to Mr. DAVIS,

as well as to his father. I wish to offer the following motion:—

“The Society has heard with grateful satisfaction the generous proposal of our associate, the Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, to make a large addition to the ‘Isaac Davis Book Fund.’

“The Society hereby expresses to Mr. Davis its earnest thanks for this timely and liberal benefaction, accepts it with gratitude, and directs that the fund to which this is an addition shall be hereafter known as the Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.”

The motion was unanimously carried.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., read a sketch of GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., late First Vice-President of the Society.

HON. ELIJAH B. STODDARD:—“Perhaps it may be interesting to the members of the Society to know that Mr. BANCROFT left in the hands of his step-son, Col. Alexander Bliss, an ample sum with which to erect a monument in the Rural Cemetery, on his lot. He so informed me on the day of the funeral of Mr. BANCROFT. The plans are now being made for that purpose.”

CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D.:—“I should like to mention a little anecdote which will illustrate, perhaps, some of the characteristics of Mr. BANCROFT. He visited Constantinople while I was in that long contest with the Turkish Government to obtain leave to erect Robert College. I wanted to interest him in the question and get his influence. I invited him to the proposed site of the College and he came. He was exceedingly enraptured with the scenery from the site. He sat down and discussed it, and discussed the various points of historic interest on the Asiatic shore, and spent so much time that the driver of the carriage came and said, ‘Mr. Bancroft, it will be very dark before we get to your hotel and the streets are very narrow, and it is time for us to go.’ ‘Never mind the narrow streets,’ he said, and shook him off; ‘I shall never enjoy this scenery again, and I am going to enjoy it now.’ After a time the driver came

again and said, 'Mr. Bancroft, do you see those clouds rising? It is going to be very dark, I assure you.' 'Let it be dark as Egypt,' he replied, and the driver did not dare to come again; and Mr. Bancroft sat there and enjoyed the scenery until it began to fade. It was undoubtedly 'dark as Egypt' when he got safely to his hotel."

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D.:—"I, perhaps, am the only person present who has any remembrance, and that traditional, of Mr. BANCROFT's preaching. My predecessor in the ministry in Portsmouth was a pupil of Dr. BANCROFT. Mr. BANCROFT preached perhaps his second sermon in the pulpit that I afterwards occupied in Portsmouth. The sermon left a long memory. It was not edifying, but particularly unedifying to the more devout members of the congregation. But there was one figure which he used, and not an inappropriate figure, on the whole, though it sounded very unfamiliar, and adhered to the memory of his hearers as long as they lived. He spoke of 'our dear pelican Jesus,'—a figure peculiarly homely, certainly not inappropriate, and yet intensely unedifying."

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., gave some remembrances of Mr. BANCROFT, of a confidential nature.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, who was greeted with applause, arose and said:—"I thank my friends of the Society for this kind reception. I am not here, however, to attempt to make a speech. I come somewhat with the feeling with which I used to hear Mr. Webster make a speech which he was fond of making in regard to good old General Stark of New Hampshire, who, upon one occasion, very unusual for himself, came to a meeting, either a meeting of war or it may be of peace, a little too late. 'Oh,' says Stark, 'I have come too late, but you will never find me going away too early.' It was approaching the time just now, as I looked at my watch, when I must take my leave, and I cannot be present at the dinner which has been proposed, so fitly, on the part of our Boston associates to

those who come from Worcester. Indeed, I have come here under great reluctance, for, as I wrote to a friend not many days ago, it seemed to me that within the last month a whole avalanche of age and infirmities had fallen upon me, and that my use, my general condition for doing anything in public or in private even had been materially impaired. I hope there may be some change for the better, but I dare not bestow all my tediousness upon this Society, more especially as I have to confess a great want of attention to its meetings for so many years past.

“You have mentioned, most justly, the memory of Mr. BANCROFT. I do not forget that he and I have shared so long the distinction of being the oldest members of the Society, and that is now left to me alone. But I have no more to say about him. I paid my little tribute to him at our Massachusetts Historical Society, and I have nothing to add to it and nothing to detract from it.

“I can remember many occasions on which I have met with this Society, though these doubtless have forgotten it—some of them even before I had the honor of being a member. I recall the days when my own father occupied the chair which you now have, at the May meetings of the Antiquarian Society; good men like honest John Davis, Levi Lincoln and William Lincoln, his younger brother, and Rejvice Newton, whose name I always remember, and George Folsom; when there came to Boston to meet us such men as William Jenks, and, let me not forget, old Dr. Bancroft himself.¹ More than once I remember him, in his small-clothes, coming down to attend some of these meetings in days, gentlemen, when there were no railroads, when there were no stage-coaches or any conveniences to bring them down. They always dined with my father. Some twenty or thirty members of the Society were always to be seen upon those days at his table; and although I was then somewhat of a youngster, not long after I graduated from

¹ Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., father of the historian.

College—for I was admitted here as early as 1838, and in 1828 I graduated—but although I was then quite a young man I was always admitted to the privileges of that table, and I became as familiar with the Antiquarian Society, and more especially with those from Worcester, as if I had been a member for twenty years before.

“But more recently the memory which I cherish most fondly is of my attendance at the fiftieth anniversary of this Society, when I was at Worcester with the rest of you; when we had the dinner at the hotel; when I did what I will not say is not my custom on such occasions, made a speech after the dinner was over, and where we had one of the most agreeable and festive occasions which we are likely to have either at Parker’s to-day or at any other day that may intervene between this and the second fiftieth, which will be the centennial anniversary of the Society.

“Sir, let me conclude by wishing that the Society may continue in all its prosperity and honor, and more particularly under the auspices of yourself, sir, as President, who have added to the name of Salisbury the principal endowments and patronage of this Society for so many years, and that under your auspices and with the aid of the benefactions which your excellent father has bequeathed to us, the Society may attain an eminence which it has never yet reached, but which at this day it so plainly promises.”

The members of the Society arose and remained standing while Mr. WINTHROP took his departure.

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D. :—“With Mr. GREEN’s permission and yours I will take the liberty of sending to him a private note which I have from the late Rev. Dr. Hedge, in which he expresses his earlier and later gratitude to Mr. BANCROFT. It is one of those interesting tributes which one great man gives to another, and I think Mr. GREEN will like to include some part of it in his memoir. I have often heard Dr. Hedge speak of Mr. BANCROFT in just the same way, of the obligation he felt as a young boy

for the care and kindness which Mr. BANCROFT had bestowed upon him. I am not myself a young man, but I should be sorry if on this occasion I did not speak of the very great kindness which I have always received, as I think all those interested in historical matters have received from him, and the great generosity with which he has thrown open his papers to other students."

The note to which Dr. HALE referred is in the following words:—

BROOKLINE, *May 8, 1858.*

DEAR HALE:—I was very sorry not to see you the other evening. Emerson was brilliant and beautiful.

I had intended to write a notice of Bancroft's volume for July. [Dr. Hedge means for the *Christian Examiner* for July.] I stand to him in peculiar personal relations, dating from my boyhood, when I received great kindness at his hands, and such favors as I can never repay. . . . I like the book exceedingly, and I want the *Examiner* should say a strong word by way of acknowledgment of the great service the country owes to him as its historian. If you can conscientiously say that word, and can write the notice in this spirit, I should like very much to have you do it.

THOMAS CHASE, LL.D., of Providence, R. I., read a biography and review of the life of our deceased associate, Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN.

Senator HOAR:—"It will be remembered that at the meeting of the Society a year ago I called attention to a statement in Mr. Spencer Walpole's *Life of Earl Russell*, then just published, that Mr. Everett, the American Minister, had taken the unusual course of appealing from the Government to the Opposition by a letter addressed to Lord John Russell, then the leader of the Opposition, in regard to the Oregon controversy between England and the United States. I pointed out that this letter was written by Mr. Everett after he had ceased to be Minister. He was the last person to have been guilty of such an indiscretion. The attention of Mr. Walpole has been called to his error, which

he has acknowledged in a very courteous personal letter to me. He has also in the second edition of the *Life of Earl Russell* withdrawn the statement, for which he has substituted the following words:—‘And Mr. Everett, who had recently retired from the post of American Minister in London, wrote to Lord John on the subject.’ I have received through the great courtesy of Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, our Minister at London, a copy of the original letter of Mr. Everett in the papers of the late Earl Russell, which I wish to lay before the Society. The letter is of great interest and ability, though quite brief, and I think should be published in our *Proceedings*. I move it be referred to the Committee of Publication.”

[Copy of original letter in the papers of the late Earl Russell. Addressed at bottom of first page: Lord John Russell.]

BOSTON, U. S. A.
28 Decr 1845.

My Dear Lord John,

In pursuance of an intimation which I made to you before I left London & which seemed acceptable to you, I will now undertake to give you very briefly my view of the existing controversy between the two countries. It is proper in the outset to state that I am not in the confidence of our own government, & know nothing of their views, beyond what may be gathered from the ordinary sources of public & private information. The present state of the controversy seems to be the following: our government has offered to yours the 49th degree of latitude to the Pacific Ocean, with a free port, or ports as you wish, on the south end of Vancouver's island. You have offered to us the 49th degree till it strikes the Columbia River, thence down that river to the Pacific, with a detached territory North of the Columbia, including a port within the Straits of Fuca, & such other free ports as we wish. These offers with the exception of the Free ports on the two sides are the same which were made & rejected in the former negotiations.

Our offer of the 49th, as originally made in 1818, & renewed in 1824 & 1826, was, I have always understood, rejected by the British Administration of those days, under

the suggestion of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, that the navigation of the Columbia river was absolutely necessary to an advantageous possession of any part of the back country, partially drained by it. I believe that this representation, as a matter of geographical fact, is entirely unfounded. The bar at the mouth of the Columbia & the terrific surf that breaks upon it make it nearly inaccessible, and all navigation is stopped by the falls at the distance of eighty or one hundred miles from the sea. The natural drainage of the greater part of the country North of the 49th degree is by Frazer's River, by which also there is a more direct approach to the pass through the mountains which your fur traders use, than there is from the Columbia. There is therefore no particular reason for insisting on the Columbia, on the ground of necessity or convenience. Such being the case, & you admitting—or rather contending,—that the territory is an unappropriated one & open to joint occupation; what line of boundary can be conceived (now that partition is rendered expedient), more equitable than that which we have always proposed, viz; to continue West of the mountains the line which divides us for 1000 to 1200 miles East of the mountains? Considering the debatable country as extending from Mexico to the Arctic Sea, this line would give you $\frac{2}{3}$ of the space. It is true it would give us the portion most favored in climate, but on that coast the climate is milder than on the eastern coast of our continent, & there is reason to think that with the same elevation above the sea, while our portion of the territory thus divided would possess a climate like that of France, yours would have the climate of the British isles and the North of Europe. In assuming the 49th parallel as the boundary, we should act on the natural & obvious principle of extension to the West of the mountains of territories which lie conterminously for such a vast distance east of the mountains. Each government would acquire the region which lies contiguously to its former possessions and neither have a preference; although if a preference belonged to either on the American continent, it would seem rightfully to belong,—not so much to you, who claim only the extension of a distant colony, as to us who are seated on this continent, & who—besides our own right of juxta-position—have united with our own that of France and of Spain. I do not speak now of any right of *possession* de-

rived from those powers, but of the natural right of *extension*, which they would have possessed, had they remained masters the one of Louisiana & the other of Mexico. Whatever distributive share of Oregon would have belonged to them, in a partition among the Great Powers holding territory on the North American Continent, has been acquired by us. We do not, however, use it for any other purpose than to show our moderation in contenting ourselves with that which equitably falls to our single share.

Now this equitable offer of the 49th degree was rejected by your Government in 1818, 1824 & 1826 and has recently been rejected again; originally I believe under the erroneous suggestion of the Fur companies, that the navigation of the Columbia was of great importance even to the region North of 49°, a suggestion which as I have observed, I regard as unfounded in fact. I admit the difficulty, on the part of your government,—substantially in the same hands now as in 1818–1826,—of agreeing to what they then rejected. The point of honor and consistency must be saved; but in proportion as the rejected proposal was really equitable, such modification as may be insisted upon to save the point of ministerial consistency, ought to be moderate. Such a modification has been offered by our government in the form of free ports on the southern extremity of Vancouver's island. I think that the cession of that extremity would be by us agreed to;—in other words that our Government would agree to the 49th parallel till it strikes the sea, leaving to you the whole of Vancouver's Island. This to you is a very important and substantial modification of the proposal formerly rejected. Whether your ministers will accept it is a question for themselves; but their course will no doubt in a great degree depend upon yours. If you choose to rally the public opinion of England against this basis of compromise, it will not be easy for Sir R. Peel & Lord Aberdeen to agree to it. If you are clearly of opinion, as a point of public interest or honor, that this compromise ought not to be agreed to, you will of course encourage the ministers in rejecting it. But if the only point to be saved is one,—*not of national but merely of ministerial consistency*, it will I think deserve your most serious consideration—yours & that of your friends—whether you will encourage & stimulate the government to plunge into a war, *for the*

sake of adhering to the worst traditions of Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh.

You will not infer from the general strain of my remarks and my silence as to the course which has been pursued on this side of the water, that I approve that course. I think it wrong in Congress to attempt the negotiation; and the tone of the President's message is not to my taste; but you must consider that the persevering rejection by your Government of a basis of compromise which all moderate men here think reasonable (and which was approved in the very able article of the *Edinburgh Review* last July), tends greatly to encourage the extreme pretensions of the dominant party in Congress, and to put the friends of moderate counsels in the wrong.

I pray you to pardon the freedom of this letter. It is dictated by the feeling, that Peace between the two countries is the great interest of the World, & that its preservation is wrapped up in the folds of your mantle. May God guide you to a wise decision.

I remain, my dear Lord John, with true respect,

Sincerely yours

EDWARD EVERETT.

Pray remember me with great kindness to lady John & to the Duke & Duchess of Bedford.

I do not expect you to answer this letter, but should you have occasion to write to me, your answer could be sent to Mr. John Miller, 26 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

Rev. Dr. HALE:—"In connection with the coming celebration at Chicago it has been my pleasure to be occupied this winter in some studies on the life of Columbus, and perhaps at some time I may have the great pleasure of making some contribution to the Society's Proceedings on that matter. I should like to say now that some of us are attempting what seems to be an appropriate celebration—if the navy department will detail a proper vessel under one of its officers,—having the vessel reproduce, day by day, Columbus's first voyage. It is proposed that the vessel shall touch on the morning of the 12th of October at the spot where Columbus touched. They will stay there as

long as Columbus stayed there, and then they will follow, with his journal in hand, from day to day the different spots at which he touched. When he caught a lizard they will catch a lizard. When he caught a turtle they will catch a turtle. Lady Black has made the voyage in a yacht owned by herself or her husband, and has published a private account of it. But what we propose is a diurnal celebration. When they get to the point where cigars were first observed the gentlemen will open a box of the best Cuban cigars, and will celebrate the event on the spot where the cigar was first discovered. We know the day and almost the hour of the great discovery. In this suggestion to the government we shall be glad of the assistance of any member of the Society, and possibly the Council may think it worth while to further this suggestion.

"I think some gentlemen will remember that Mons. Jomard sent us forty years ago a picture he had discovered with the name of Christopher Columbus upon it, but which has generally been discredited, and I believe correctly so. I will lay on the table for the amusement of the gentlemen a portrait of Philip the Third which so resembles the Columbus that I am disposed to think that Jomard was cheated, together, I believe, with some members of the Society, by the purchase of an old picture with the words 'Christoporus Columbus' painted across an indifferent Philip the Third, and that one of these pictures accounts for the other."

A sketch of the life and works of the late Brasseur de Bourbourg prepared by Prof. HERBERT B. ADAMS, was presented by the PRESIDENT.

On motion of Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN the several papers which had been presented and the remarks which had been made, were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian, which make part of the Report of the Council, show that the Library and the investments are in good condition, and that the ordinary work of the Society has gone on in a satisfactory manner for the past six months. But it has been a period made memorable to the Society, as to the country, by the death of an unusual number of men whose names were among our most valued possessions. The country mourns its great military and its great naval commander, who lay dead on the same day. This Society is called upon to record the loss within a few weeks of each other of the only representative among its members of the name and blood of its founder; of the great explorer, who has transferred the tale of Troy divine from the domain of romance to that of veritable history; of the great authority upon the history of New England Puritanism; of the foremost historian of the country; and of the beloved soldier, jurist, orator and gentleman, who added to all these titles to our respect and affection that of being the person who in his historical speeches—alas, too few!—has given better than any other man the spirit of the great War for the Union, in which he bore so honorable a part.

Dr. Dexter, Mr. Bancroft and Judge Devens was each conspicuous in an important field of historical study. One trait was common to them. Each was a loving and reverent student of a great period in history and of the forces to which that period owed its greatness. Each had a steadfast faith in his country and in his countrymen. Each well knew that in a free country men who are governed in their ordinary conduct by the ordinary passions, often by the

meaner and baser passions of mankind, are capable of the loftiest virtue when they are dealing with great interests, and that to that capacity is due the planting of our country, the building of its institutions, and the strength its people have put forth in war and in peace. Each understood that in writing the chronicles of the voyage of some great ship, freighted with the fate of humanity, it is more important to study the forces which furnish the motive power and the direction, than to describe the smell of the oil, the soot and the cinders, the quarrels of the fore-castle, or even the jealousies of the cabin. Neither shared the modern taste for preserving the rejected scandals of history, or thought that the annals of our House Beautiful should be written by its sewer rats.

Henry Martyn Dexter was born in Plympton, Massachusetts, August 13, 1821. He was the son of Elijah Dexter, who was pastor of the Congregational Church there for forty-four years, and of Mary Dexter, the sister of Governor Marcus Morton. He entered Brown University, but finished his college course at Yale, where he was graduated in 1840. He was graduated at the Andover Theological Seminary in 1844. He was then settled over the Franklin-street Congregational Church at Manchester, N. H., where he remained three years. In 1849, he was transferred to the Pine-street Church, Boston, where he remained eighteen years. In 1851, he became one of the editors of the *Congregationalist*, the organ of the Congregational Churches in New England, in founding which, two years before, he had taken much interest. In 1856, he became the general editor of that paper, which office he held until January 1, 1866. In May, 1867, he resigned his pastorate, and became editor-in-chief of the *Congregationalist*, in which office he continued until his death.

He was one of the founders of the *Congregational Quarterly*, which he edited from 1859 until 1866. He was

elected a member of this Society, April 28, 1869. He was also a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the American Historical Association. He was Lecturer on Congregationalism at Andover Theological Seminary from 1877 to 1880. In 1865, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Iowa College. In 1880, he received the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology from Yale College. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws, from the same institution in 1890, being the only graduate of Yale on whom the two degrees have been conferred. He was a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He has published a great number of important works: religious, literary and historical.¹

¹THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF MANUFACTURING TOWNS: A Dedication Sermon. pp. 32, 1848.

OUR NATIONAL CONDITION AND ITS REMEDY. pp. 44, 1856.

THE VOICE OF THE BIBLE, THE VERDICT OF REASON. pp. 56, 1858.

MERTING HOUSES, CONSIDERED HISTORICALLY AND SUGGESTIVELY. pp. 29, 1859.

STREET THOUGHTS. pp. 216, 1859.

TWELVE DISCOURSES. pp. 219, 1860.

WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE WITH THE FREEDMEN AND WITH THE REBELS: a sermon. pp. 36, 1865.

THE VERDICT OF REASON, ETC. pp. 157, 1865.

CONGREGATIONALISM: What it Is, Whence it Is and How it Works. pp. 306, 1865.

THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL IN THE CITY. pp. 36, 1866.

A GLANCE AT THE ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS OF NEW ENGLAND. pp. 68, 1867.

SERMON: Funeral of Israel W. Putnam, D.D. pp. 24, 1868.

THE CHURCH POLITY OF THE PILGRIMS, THE POLITY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. pp. 82, 1870.

PILGRIM MEMORANDA. pp. 40, 1870.

AS TO ROGER WILLIAMS. pp. 141, 1876.

PASTORLESS CHURCHES AND CHURCHLESS PASTORS: a paper before the National Council. pp. 20, 1877.

THE CONGREGATIONALISM OF THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS, AS SEEN IN ITS LITERATURE, WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY. pp. 716, 1880.

THE TRUE STORY OF JOHN SMYTH, THE SE-BAPTIST. pp. 86, 1880.

HANDBOOK OF CONGREGATIONALISM. pp. 212, 1880.

COMMON SENSE AS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE. pp. 33, 1885.

WEEDS: a sermon. pp. 23, 1887.

EARLY ENGLISH EXILES IN AMSTERDAM. pp. 25, 1890.

ELDER BREWSTER'S LIBRARY. pp. 51, 1890.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe he prepared the famous protest against the Nebraska bill, to which he secured the signatures of 3050 Protestant clergymen in New England. He carried this protest to Washington, where it gave rise to a famous debate in which Mr. Sumner, Mr. Everett, and afterward Mr. Rockwell took a leading part on one side, and Mr. Douglas of Illinois on the other.

Dr. Dexter was a great champion of the religious faith which he held and of righteousness wherever it seemed to him to be assailed. But he was a man of a sweet and gracious gentleness in both manner and nature, winning and retaining the affection of all men with whom he came into any close personal relations. One of his friends from early youth compares him in strength and steadfastness to the oak which grew before his door, and his friendship to the delight of its summer shade. He was full of a warm and hearty sympathy for young and old, ever ready with counsel and with help.

The crowning honor of his life was his election to preach the opening sermon at the International Congregational Council at London, in July, 1891, for which, on the Monday before his death, he was unanimously chosen. This is the greatest honor which it is in the power of the Congregational Churches to bestow on one of their clergymen.

He died November 13, 1890. The day before his death he seemed in unusual health and spirits, working in his library as usual and making plans for his journey abroad. The next morning at half-past six he was found lying on

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF INCREASE N. TARBOX. pp. 22, 1890.

THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH LIFE OF THE PLYMOUTH MEN. This was left in manuscript, nearly complete; it will be published.

He also edited, 1865-7:—

MOURT'S RELATION, OR JOURNAL OF THE PLANTATION AT PLYMOUTH. THE HISTORY OF KING PHILIP'S WAR; by Benjamin Church.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN EXPEDITIONS, ETC.; by Benjamin Church.

He was one of the founders and first proprietors of the *Congregational Quarterly*, and wrote much for it.

his side, his head resting on his hand, apparently asleep; but he had died in his sleep without suffering.

He had been all his life a devoted student of the founding and building of New England, the origin and growth of her ideas of Christian doctrine, church government, constitutional law and civil liberty. In this knowledge he was, in the later years of his life, the profoundest living master. He had in preparation a work upon the founders of New England, to be entitled "The English and Dutch Life of the Plymouth Men," which had made great progress to completion, but which no man can finish as he would have finished it. He was always welcome at the meetings of this Society. We had expected larger service from him in our special work, if his life had been spared, as he should withdraw himself from the engrossing activities of his work in his profession. Dr. Dexter left a wife and one son, the Rev. Morton Dexter, who was associated with him as one of the editors of the *Congregationalist*.

Our associate, Mr. Samuel S. Green of the Council, has kindly undertaken to prepare a sketch of the life of Mr. Bancroft. Dr. Thomas Chase will perform a like duty in regard to Dr. Schliemann.

Edward Isaiah Thomas, great-grandson of Isaiah Thomas the founder of this Society, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 19, 1833; was elected member of this Society October 21, 1881; and died in Brookline, Massachusetts, December 25, 1890. He was the son of Isaiah Thomas and Mary A. (Reeder) his wife, and the grandson of Isaiah Thomas, the only son of our founder. His father was appointed Consul at Algiers by President Lincoln, and sailed from New York for Havre on his way to his post in the *Milwaukee*, with two sons and a daughter. The ship was never heard of after she left New York.

Edward Isaiah Thomas attended Wittenberg College in 1852. About a year afterward he came back to Massachu-

setts, where he engaged in business. He married Miss Henrietta Williams Briggs on the 31st day of December, 1857, who with three daughters survives him. He settled in Brookline. He was a most upright, courteous, and worthy gentleman, of pleasant manners, full of public spirit, generosity and bounty. He took a large part in the affairs of the town and of the Church, of which he was deacon for eighteen years. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for the years 1876-1880, and of the State Senate for the years 1884-1885. He was several years Chairman of the Committee on Banks and Banking, and a member of the Committee on the revision of the Statutes in 1881. He took great interest in Mr. Duncan's important work in the redemption from barbarism of the Metlakahla Indians, and was largely instrumental in raising the fund for their benefit. He highly prized his membership of the Society, and was a constant attendant at its meetings.

To draw an adequate portraiture of Charles Devens would require the noble touch of the old masters of painting or the lofty stroke of the dramatists of Queen Elizabeth's day. He filled many great places in the public service with so much modesty and with a gracious charm of manner and behavior which so attracted and engrossed our admiration that we failed at first to discern the full strength of the man. It is not until after his death, when we sum up what he has done for purposes of biography or of eulogy, that we see how important and varied has been the work of his life.

Charles Devens was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 4, 1820. His family connections led him to take early in life a deep interest in the military and naval history of the country, especially in that of the War of 1812; while the place of his birth and the fact that he was the grandson of Richard Devens gave to him the interest in the opening of the Revolution which belongs to every son

of Middlesex. He was a pupil at the Boston Latin School; was graduated at Harvard in 1838; was admitted to the bar in 1840; practised law in Northfield and afterward in Greenfield; was Senator from Franklin County in 1848 and 1849; was brigadier-general of the militia; was appointed United States Marshal by President Taylor in 1849, holding that office until 1853; removed to Worcester in 1854; formed a partnership with George F. Hoar and J. Henry Hill in December, 1856; was city solicitor in the years 1856, 1857 and 1858. The news of the surrender of Fort Sumter was received in Worcester Sunday, April 14th. Monday forenoon came the confirmation of the news and President Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers. General Devens was engaged in the trial of a cause before the supreme court, when the news was told him. He instantly requested another member of the bar to take his place in the trial, went immediately up street, offered his services to the government, was unanimously chosen the same day major of the Third Battalion of Massachusetts Rifles, commissioned the next day, April 16th, departed for the seat of war April 20th. The battalion under his command was stationed at Fort McHenry. On the 24th of July following he was appointed Colonel of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment.

Gen. Devens was in command of the Fifteenth Regiment at the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff, where he was struck by a musket ball, which was intercepted by a metallic button which saved his life. His conduct on that day received high encomium from Gen. McClellan. He was soon after appointed a Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and assigned to a brigade in Couch's division of the Fourth Corps. His division was engaged in the battle in front of Fort Magruder on the 5th of May, 1862. On the 31st of the same month he was engaged in the most critical portion of the desperate fight at Fair Oaks, where his command was conspicuous for valor and devotion. This was one of the most stubbornly contested fields of the war. Gen. Devens was severely

wounded toward the close of the day, but with a few other officers he had succeeded in reforming the repeatedly broken lines and in holding the field until reinforcements arrived and stayed the tide of Confederate triumph. He returned to his command as soon as his wound would permit, and took part in the battle of Fredericksburg in December, 1862. In his official report Gen. Newton says, "My acknowledgments are due to all according to their opportunities, but especially to Brigadier-General Charles Devens, who commanded the advance and the rear guard, in the crossing and recrossing of the river." In the following spring Gen. Devens was promoted to the command of a division of the Eleventh Corps. He was posted with his division of 4,000 men on the extreme right of the flank of Hooker's army, which was attacked by 26,000 men under the great rebel leader Stonewall Jackson. Gen. Devens was wounded by a musket ball in the foot early in the day; but he kept the field, making the most strenuous efforts to hold his men together and stay the advance of the Confederates until his Corps was almost completely enveloped by Jackson's force and, in the language of Gen. Walker, "was scattered like the stones and timbers of a broken dam." He recovered from his wound in time to take part in the campaign of 1864. His troops were engaged on the first of June in the battle of Cold Harbor, and carried the enemy's entrenched line with severe loss. On the third of June, in an attack which Gen. Walker characterizes as one "which is never spoken of without awe and 'bated breath by any one who participated in it," Gen. Devens was carried along the line on a stretcher, being so crippled by inflammatory rheumatism that he could neither mount his horse nor stand in his place. This was the last action in which he took an active part. On the third of April, 1865, he led the advance into Richmond, where the position of Military Governor was assigned to him after the surrender. He afterwards was second in command to General Sickles,

in the Southeastern Department, and exercised practically all the powers of government for a year or two. This command was of very great importance to him as a part of his legal training. Upon him practically devolved the duty of deciding summarily, but without appeal, all important questions of military law as well as those affecting the civil rights of citizens during his administration.

He was offered a commission in the regular army, which he declined. He came back to Worcester in 1866; renewed his partnership with George F. Hoar for a short time; was appointed justice of the superior court April, 1867; was appointed justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts in 1873; was offered the appointment of Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Hayes March 5th, 1877; a day or two later was tendered the office of Attorney-General by the President, which he accepted and held until the expiration of President Hayes's administration. He was offered the office of judge of the circuit court of the first circuit at the death of Judge Shepley, which he very much desired to accept. But the President, although placing this office at his disposal, was exceedingly unwilling to lose his services in the Cabinet; and Gen. Devens, with his customary self-denial, yielded to the desire of his chief. He was again appointed justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts in 1881, and held that office until his death.

He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society October 21, 1878. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard University in the year 1877. He was chosen President of the Harvard Alumni Association, and again elected President of that Association in 1886, in order that he might preside at the great celebration of the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the college, which he did with a dignity and grace which commanded the admiration of all persons who were present on that interesting occasion. He died January 7, 1891.

General Devens gained very soon after establishing himself in Worcester the reputation of one of the foremost advocates at the bar of Massachusetts. He was a model of the professional character, of great courtesy to his opponent, great deference to the court, fidelity to his client, giving to every case all the labor which could profitably be spent upon it. The certainty of the absolute fidelity, thoroughness, and skill with which his part of the duty of an important trial would be performed, made it a delight to try cases as his associate. He was especially powerful with juries in cases involving the domestic relations, or which had in them anything of the pathos of which the court-house so often furnishes examples. He did not care in those days for the preparation or argument of questions of law, although he possessed legal learning fully adequate to the exigencies of his profession, and never neglected any duty.

His powers continued to grow as he grew older until his death. I think he was unsurpassed in this country in the generation to which he belonged in native gifts of oratory. He had a fine voice, of great compass and power, a graceful and dignified presence. He was familiar with the best English literature. He had a pure and admirable style, an imagination which was quickened and excited under the stimulus of extempore speech, and was himself moved and stirred by the emotions which are most likely to move and stir an American audience. Some of his addresses to juries in Worcester are now remembered, under whose spell jury and audience were in tears, and where it was somewhat difficult even for the bench or the opposing counsel to resist the contagion. He never, however, undertook to prepare and train himself for public speaking, as was done by Mr. Choate or Mr. Everett, or had the constant and varied practice under which the fine powers of Wendell Phillips came to such perfection. But his fame as an orator constantly increased, so that before his death no other man in Massachusetts was so much in demand, especially on those occa-

sions where the veterans of the war were gathered to commemorate its sacrifices and triumphs.

Among the most successful examples of his oratoric power is his Address at Bunker Hill at the Centennial in 1875, where the forming the procession and the other exercises occupied the day until nearly sundown, and General Devens, the orator of the day, laid aside his carefully prepared oration and addressed the audience in a brief speech, wholly unpremeditated, which was the delight of everybody who heard it.¹

At New Haven he delivered the address before the Army of the Potomac in commemoration of General Meade and the battle of Gettysburg, which is a fine specimen of his historic narrative mingled and adorned with stately eloquence. At the banquet in the evening of the same day the gentleman who had been expected to respond to the toast, "The private soldier," was unexpectedly called away, and General Devens was asked at a moment's notice and without preparation to take his place. The writer has heard President Grant—no mean judge—who had himself listened to so much of the best public speaking in all parts of the country, say that General Devens's response to this toast was the finest speech he ever heard in his life. The eulogy upon Grant delivered at Worcester, especially the wonderful passage where he contrasts the greeting which Napoleon might expect from his soldiers and companions in arms at a meeting beyond the grave with that which Grant might expect from his brethren, is also one of the best specimens of elo-

¹ We annex an extract from the diary of our associate, Mr. Henry H. Edes, under date of June 17th, 1875. Mr. Edes took a very large part in making the arrangements for the centennial celebration of that date.

"The oration by Judge Devens was magnificent. He spoke wholly without notes and his effort was largely extemporaneous. He began by saying that the lateness of the hour ('twas nearly six o'clock) would prevent his following the train of any previously prepared effort and he would briefly review the history of the battle and its results upon the world's history. He spoke for nearly an hour and a quarter, holding his fine audience in rapt attention by his eloquence, the elegance of his diction and his superb enunciation. It was, indeed, a wonderful effort, and will compare favorably with Webster's great orations in '25 and '43."

quence in modern times. Surpassing even these are the few sentences he addressed to his regiment after the battle of Ball's Bluff.

General Devens had a modest estimate of his own best powers. While he was an admirable judge, bringing to the court the weight of his great experience, his admirable sense, his stainless integrity, his perfect impartiality, his great discernment, his abundant learning, it has always seemed to the writer that he erred after the war in not preferring political life to his place upon the bench. He could easily have been Governor or Senator, in which places the affection of the people of Massachusetts would have kept him for a period limited only by his own desire, and might well have been expected to pass from the Cabinet to an even higher place in the service of his country. But he disliked political strife, and preferred those places of service which did not compel him to encounter bitter antagonisms.

He was invited by President Hayes to a seat in his Cabinet. He filled the place of Attorney-General with a dignity and an ability which has been rarely if ever surpassed by any of the illustrious men who have filled that great office. The judges of the Supreme Court long after he had left Washington were accustomed to speak of the admirable manner in which he discharged his duties. The writer quite recently heard Mr. Justice Bradley, who is without a superior, if not without a peer, among living jurists on either side of the Atlantic, speak enthusiastically of his recollection of General Devens in the office of Attorney-General. Judge Bradley has kindly acceded to a request to put in writing what he had said. His letter is here inserted:

WASHINGTON, *January 20th, 1891.*

HON. GEO. F. HOAR.

My Dear Sir:—You ask for my estimate of the services and character of Gen. Devens as Attorney-General of the United States. In general terms I unhesitatingly answer, that he left upon my mind the impression of a sterling,

noble, generous character, loyal to duty, strong, able, and courteous in the fulfilment of it, with such accumulation of legal acquirement and general culture as to render his counsels highly valuable in the Cabinet, and his public efforts exceedingly graceful and effective. His professional exhibitions in the Supreme Court during the four years that he represented the Government, were characterized by sound learning, chastely and accurately expressed, great breadth of view, the seizing of strong points and disregard of minute ones, marked deference for the court and courtesy to his opponents. He was a model to the younger members of the bar of a courtly and polished advocate. He appeared in the court only in cases of special importance; but of these there was quite a large number during his term. As examples, I may refer to the cases of *Young v. United States* (97 U. S. 39), which involved the rights of neutrals in our civil war, and particularly the alleged right of a British subject, who had been engaged in running the blockade, to demand compensation for a large quantity of cotton purchased in the Confederacy and seized by the military forces of the United States;—*Reynolds v. United States* (98 U. S. 145), which declared the futility of the plea, in cases of bigamy among the Mormons, of religious belief, claimed under the first amendment of the Constitution; and established the principle that pretended religious belief cannot be accepted as a justification of overt acts made criminal by the law of the land;—*The Sinking Fund Cases* (99 U. S. 700), which involved the validity of the act of Congress known as the Thurman Act, requiring the Pacific Railroad Companies to make annual payments for a sinking fund to meet the bonds loaned to them by the Government;—*Tennessee v. Davis* (100 U. S. 257), as to the right of a United States officer to be tried in the Federal courts for killing a person in self-defence whilst in the discharge of his official duties;—*The Civil Rights case of Strander v. W. Virginia and others* (100 U. S. 303–422), in which were settled the rights of all classes of citizens, irrespective of color, to suffrage and to representation in the jury box, and the right of the Government of the United States to interpose its power for their protection;—*Neal v. Delaware* (103 U. S. 370), by which it was decided that the right of suffrage and (in that case) the consequent right of jury service of people of African descent,

were secured by the 15th Amendment of the Constitution, notwithstanding unrepealed state laws or constitutions to the contrary.

In all these cases and many others the arguments of the Attorney-General were presented with distinguished ability and dignity, and with his habitual courtesy and amenity of manner; whilst his broad and comprehensive views greatly aided the court in arriving at just conclusions. In all of them he was successful; and it may be said that he rarely assumed a position on behalf of the Government, in any important case, in which he was not sustained by the judgment of the court. His advocacy was conscientious and judicial rather than experimental—as is eminently fitting in the official representative of the Government. It best sub-serves the ends of justice, the suppression of useless litigation, and the prompt administration of the law.

I can only add that the members of the Supreme Court parted with Attorney-General Devens with regret. Of him, as of so many other eminent lawyers, the reflection is just, that the highest efforts of advocacy have no adequate memorial. Written compositions remain; but the noblest displays of human genius at the bar—often, perhaps, the successful assaults of Freedom against the fortresses of Despotism—are lost to history and memory for want of needful recordation. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*; or, as Tacitus says of the eloquent Haterius, “Whilst the plodding industry of scribblers goes down to posterity, the sweet voice and fluent eloquence of Haterius died with himself.”

Very Truly Yours.

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY.

General Devens took no active part in the work of this Society, although he was quite a frequent attendant at our meetings. He had hoped before long, if he had lived, to write for us a paper on the government of Massachusetts during the period between the breaking out of the Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution of 1780. This work, if done at all, must be done by other hands. But he was an admirable historical investigator and narrator. He carefully investigated the facts. He told the story of the heroic days of the Revolution and of the heroic days of the

War for the Union with a graphic power which will give his addresses on such subjects a permanent place in our best historical literature.¹

But it is as a soldier that his countrymen will remember him, and it is as a soldier that he would wish to be remembered. Whatever may be said by the philosopher, the moralist, or the preacher, the instincts of the greater portion of mankind will lead them to award the highest meed of admiration to the military character. Even when the most selfish of human passions, the love of power or the love of fame, is the stimulant of the soldier's career, he must at least be ready for the supreme sacrifice—the willingness to give his life, if need be, for the object he is pursuing. But when his end is purely unselfish, when the love of country or the desire to save her life by giving his own has entire mastery of the soul, all mankind are agreed to award to the good soldier a glory which it bestows nowhere else.

There was nothing lacking in General Devens to the complete soldierly character. He had a passionate love of his country; he was absolutely fearless; he never flinched before danger, sickness, suffering or death. He was prompt, resolute, and cool in the face of danger. He had a warm and affectionate heart. He loved his comrades, especially the youth who were under his command. He had that gentle and placable nature which so often accom-

¹ The following is a partial list of the publications of General Devens:—

LETTER. To Hon. Henry Wilson, U. S. Senator, December 16, 1864.

ADDRESS. Before the Army of the James, delivered Sept. 2, 1868.

ORATION. On General Meade, delivered at New Haven, May 14, 1873.

ORATION. On Centennial of Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1875.

ORATION. Dedication of Soldiers' Monument at Boston, Sept. 17, 1877.

ADDRESS (2). On General Grant; one at Boston, July 26, and one at Worcester, Aug. 8, 1885.

ADDRESS. To the Fifteenth Mass. Regiment, at Gettysburg, June 12, 1886.

ORATION. On General Sheridan, before the Loyal Legion, Nov. 7, 1888.

ORATION. On the 25th Anniversary of the Loyal Legion, at Philadelphia, April 15, 1890.

ADDRESS. At the 250th Anniversary of Harvard University.

panies great courage. He was incapable of a permanent anger. He was still less capable of revenge or of willingness to inflict injury or pain.

As Clarendon says of Falkland, "He had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt for it by base and servile expedients." He never for an instant tolerated that most pernicious and pestilent heresy, that so long as each side believed itself to be in the right there was no difference between the just and the unjust cause. He knew that he was contending for the life of his country, for the fate of human liberty on this continent. No other cause would have led him to draw his sword; and he cared for no other earthly reward for his service.

"Oh just and faithful knight of God,
Ride on, the prize is near."

For the Council,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

GOVERNMENT IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES COMPARED.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR.

THE history of the relation between Canada and the United States, from a time preceding the War of Independence until to-day, affords a remarkable instance how little the relations of communities with each other are determined by their interests or by mere reason. The desire of our statesmen at the time of the Revolution that Canada should join with us in throwing off the yoke of Great Britain, and that she should become a part of our confederacy, is well known. Undoubtedly a like desire has possessed the great body of the American people ever since. It would have seemed that everything in the condition and interest of Canada would have promoted the accomplishment of this desire. Along her whole border, now extending for more than 4,000 miles, the physical conditions are such as tend to union rather than to separation. Nature seems to have designed her several provinces for union with the United States, if not for separation from each other. Canada had been brought under the authority of England but twelve years before our Revolution, by conquest. Her people were descended from England's hereditary rival and foe. Language, interest, religion, history, tradition, the memories of wars going back to the earliest days of the civilization of the two countries, would seem to have made it impossible that the French Catholics of England's North American provinces would ever abide content under the British yoke. Yet England never had a colony so obedient and so tranquil.

The question of our relations with Canada is now pressing upon the American people as never before. Every Canadian engaged in productive or profitable industry, whether a farmer, miner, manufacturer, lumberman, or fisherman, is either a customer, a source of supply, or a competitor of some American. The Canadian lines of railroads, which now cross the continent, which have been constructed at a cost of more than £120,000,000 sterling, originally intended to be competitors with the railroads of America as well as military roads, have become largely tributary to the United States, are building up American cities at the expense of those of Canada, and enable New England and the Northwest to hold their own in the rivalry between them and the communities of the Middle States and the South. Out of the present condition of things there has come such large advantage to us that the stream of emigration from Canada to the United States is probably at this time larger than from any other country in the world in proportion to the capacity of the fountain. More than one million Canadians are now upon American soil. They are among the most energetic and valuable of that people. There are regions in Canada which have been abandoned by all their young men, who have sought occupation here. I was told of a single township where, on a voting-list made up two years ago, there were two hundred and eighty-six names, sixty-six of whom within that time have come to this country. The historical scholars of the United States may, therefore, well deem it as much within their province to make their countrymen familiar with the history, traditions and institutions of Canada, as if it were already embraced within the Union itself.

It is the purpose of this essay to give a brief outline of the Constitution of Canada, to show what portion of it has been derived from the United States, and what portion of it is of British origin. This will be done without an attempt to bring to light any historical fact not generally known, or

to add anything new to information now readily accessible, but only in the hope that it will tend to stimulate the interest which American scholars already feel in the engaging subject of Canadian history and institutions, around which the genius of Parkman has already thrown so resplendent a light.

The term Canada throughout this essay will be applied to all the territory of North America lying north of the United States (of course not reckoning Alaska), together with the adjacent islands which are subject to Great Britain, although Newfoundland and Labrador are not included in the political organization known as the Dominion of Canada.

This domain, as has been said, borders upon our own for more than 4,000 miles. It contains 3,610,000 square miles, or, excluding water surface, 3,470,257 square miles. It is connected politically with the power which is our principal manufacturing and commercial rival in peace, and which would be most formidable to us as an antagonist in war. Its institutions are largely modeled upon our own, and, where they differ from our own, afford a field of interesting and profitable study. The two countries have in general the same language, similar laws and a common literature.

Canada, though in theory and in fact, dependent on the Parliament of Great Britain for her constitutional and legal rights, is, in a large degree, a self-governing people. Her system of government is copied, in many of its features, from that of the United States. In others, she follows the methods of Great Britain. Since the conquest of Canada from the French, which was followed by the Convention signed September 8, 1760, her dependence on Great Britain has been unquestioned. Various powers and privileges of self-government have been conferred on her from time to time. But these came from the bounty and grace of the power to which she was subject, and were not asserted as birthrights, as was the case with the United States.

The Act of Parliament of March 29, 1867, known and

cited as the British North America Act, united the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada, provided constitutions of government for the Dominion and the several Provinces, and prescribed the conditions under which Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory might thereafter be admitted to the confederacy or union so created.

Since 1867, all the British possessions on the continent of North America to the north of the United States, and all the islands adjacent to such possessions, except Newfoundland and Labrador, have been included within the Dominion of Canada.

The Constitution of the Dominion has taken from the United States her modification of the federative principle. Like the United States, Canada has local government in the different provinces, and a general federal government with authority over the entire Dominion, whose jurisdiction depends upon the subject-matter, and not upon local boundaries, and whose legislative, executive and judicial powers operate directly upon the citizen. As in the United States, the central and the local powers are kept each within its own domain by the authority of a supreme judiciary.

While many things which we think essential to self-government and to the due security of personal and individual rights are not enjoyed by the people of Canada, in one most important respect the will of her people takes effect in legislation more directly and effectively than does that of the people of the United States. The British North America Act was passed after our Civil War. Its authors conceived that they had so thoroughly studied our system as to be able to avoid its defects. The theory of the Constitution of Canada, if that term may properly be applied to an act of legislation which may be at any time revoked or altered at the pleasure of the Legislature which enacted it, is that the power of the Queen and Parliament of Great Britain over Canada is sov-

ereign and unlimited. The people of the United States, or of the colonies which now form part of the United States, never recognized such authority in Great Britain, and do not admit the existence of unlimited powers of government over them to be vested anywhere. The British North America Act of 1867 is not strictly a constitution amendable only by the people, or even a charter, operating as a grant of political power which can only be forfeited by judicial decision, or surrendered by the people whom it affects. It has no higher authority than any other act of ordinary legislation. It is probable that the desire of Great Britain to retain the allegiance of her dependencies, and the lesson that power has learnt from her conflict with the people of the territories now composing a large part of the United States, render the liberty of Canada practically secure against any domination of Parliamentary authority or imperial encroachment of any kind. But, legally and theoretically, Canada, in respect of her liberties, is but a tenant at the will of Great Britain. In the United States, all powers not granted to Congress are reserved to the States or the people. (In Canada, all powers granted to the Provinces are subject to the Dominion or to Great Britain.) She has, moreover, no Bill of Rights. The doctrine which lies at the foundation of every American system of government, state or national, that there are domains upon which no human authority can be permitted to enter, and acts which no human power shall be permitted to do, is unknown to her.

In her foreign relations, Canada is wholly under British control. She has no voice in the treaty-making power, or in making war or peace. Any wise administration in Great Britain would doubtless consult Canadian statesmen in making a treaty, and would give her, when convenient, a representation in the negotiation, where Canadian interests were specially affected. In several very important cases recently she has been so consulted. But the final authority is that of Great Britain. She may plunge Canada in war against her

interest, her wishes, even her honor; or may seriously injure her by treaties with other nations in peace. Great Britain has just rejected an arrangement which Newfoundland desired with the United States in consequence of the remonstrance of the Dominion.

The veto power, if kept in force in practice according to the letter of the provisions of the British North America Act, not only leaves little of the local self-government to the Provinces, but is a most serious restraint upon the popular will in federal or general legislation. This power whenever exerted is absolute. No legislative body, however large the majority or entire the unanimity, can pass a bill over the veto. The pardoning power for the Provinces, as well as for the Dominion, is vested in the Governor-General.

In each Province the chief executive power is vested in a Lieutenant-Governor, who is appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and whose salary is fixed and provided by the Parliament of Canada. Every bill passed by the legislature of a Province must be presented to the Lieutenant-Governor, who may either assent to it, withhold assent to it, or reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General. If he withhold assent, the bill fails to become a law. If he assent, it may be disallowed by the Governor-General at any time within one year. If he reserve it, it does not become a law unless the Governor-General assent within one year.

In the same way all acts passed by the Parliament of the Dominion may be assented to by the Governor-General in the Queen's name, may be reserved for the royal pleasure, or the Governor-General may declare that he withholds the royal assent. In the first case the act becomes law. In the second, it fails to become law, unless assented to by the Queen within one year. In the last case, it is defeated.

Further, bills for appropriating any part of the public revenue, or for imposing any tax or impost, must, if in the

Dominion Parliament, originate in the House of Commons, and if in the legislature of a Province, in the popular branch. No such measure can be adopted or passed in either, unless it has first been recommended by the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor in the session at which it has passed.

The Senate of the Dominion Parliament is composed of Senators, originally not exceeding seventy-eight in number, now limited to eighty-two, who are required to have a property qualification, and who are appointed by the Governor-General for life. The Speaker of the Senate is appointed by the Governor-General, and is removable by him. The Constitution of the legislative bodies of the Provinces is not uniform. In Ontario, the Legislature consists of the Lieutenant-Governor and one House. In Quebec, there are two Houses. The Senate is composed of twenty-four persons, who are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for life, until the Legislature shall otherwise provide. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there are two Houses, the members of one of which are appointed for life by the Lieutenant-Governor. In Prince Edward Island, there are two Houses, both elected. In Manitoba and British Columbia, there is but one House.

The judges of the principal courts of the several Provinces, as well as of the Dominion, are appointed by the Governor-General. Their salaries are fixed and maintained by the Parliament of the Dominion, and are entirely subject to its control.

The Queen is declared to be a part of the Dominion Parliament.

The executive power of the Dominion is vested in the Queen, who exercises it through the Governor-General, whom she appoints and removes at pleasure. His salary, now fixed at £10,000, cannot be reduced without his consent. He appoints the principal executive officers for the Dominion. In the Provinces these officers are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

It will be seen that, according to the scheme of the Canadian Government, the authority of the Dominion controls and restricts that of the Province at every point. The authority of the Queen controls and restricts that of the Dominion at every point. No law involving raising or expending money can be introduced except on the recommendation of the Governor-General appointed by the Queen, or passed without the concurrence of the Senate, appointed by her representative, or go into effect until approved by her representative, or by herself in Council. Canada can neither raise a penny nor spend a penny unless the Government propose the tax or the expenditure. No people claiming to be self-governed were ever placed in so tight a constitutional straight-jacket before. But in practice the popular control over legislation is secured in another way resembling that of Great Britain. Canada has avoided the restraints which exist in the Constitution of the United States, which fetter the immediate action of the popular will, and make a change of legislative policy so difficult here. In the United States the executive power can change but once in four years. The veto power is vested in the President, which can be overcome only by a two-thirds vote in each legislative chamber. The legislative power can be transferred from one party to another only when the majority in each House has been changed. It frequently happens, as was the case during the whole period from 1875 to 1889, that the United States is without the possibility of national legislation, except in the case where the two political parties into which the nation is divided are agreed. So with regard to foreign relations. Treaties can be made only with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate. Ordinarily, therefore, no treaty can ever be made without the concurrence of two parties into which the country is divided.

On the other hand, the Government of Canada is carried on by a Ministry, appointed indeed by the Governor-General, but responsible to the House of Commons, and chang-

ing when the majority in that House changes. In this respect the English system prevails there.

It is sometimes claimed that the veto power of the Queen over the Acts of the Dominion Parliament, like that of the Queen in Great Britain, which has been obsolete since 1704, is a power never again to be used. Mr. Bourinot expressed this view in his paper read before the American Historical Association. But it is difficult to believe that Great Britain would treat a great constitutional power as obsolete, which was expressly reserved in a scheme of government enacted in 1867, and which has been exercised since that time.

Both parties in Canada have laid it down in their platforms that the veto power should not be exercised by the Dominion authority over Provincial legislation "in case of acts clearly and unequivocally within the legal and constitutional powers of the Province." Mr. Bourinot admits that there is a latent peril in this power, even so restrained, in times of excitement, and that it would have been better to leave it, as we do, to the Courts.

We suppose the veto power reserved to the Queen in Council would be exercised only where such veto seemed to her advisers in England necessary for the preservation of the royal authority, or the existing constitutional relation of Canada to the Empire. The veto power reserved to the Governor-General, or to the Lieutenant-Governors in the Provinces, is, we suppose, a living and real power. There were forty-five cases of disallowances of Provincial acts between 1867 and 1887. The power seems so far to have been exercised with great caution and discretion.

Another practice, also, has grown up under which Provincial acts are commented on, that is, the Minister of Justice, acting for the Governor-in-Council, has pointed out to the Provincial Government the particulars wherein certain measures are objectionable. In such cases, they have been amended or abandoned.

Provincial Acts are disallowed on three grounds, viz. :—

As not within the power of the Provincial legislatures ;

As in conflict with Federal legislation ;

As prejudicial to the advantage of the Dominion as a whole.

The latter ground would include the objection that the act was in violation of common right.

As the Governor-General in exercising this power is governed by the advice of the Ministry, who are the political leaders of the majority in the Dominion House of Commons, these vetoes are likely, in many cases, to be regarded by the opposition as political, especially if the vetoed measure were introduced by the governing party in the Province, being opposed to that of the Dominion.

The power vested in the Governor-General to reserve acts of the Dominion Parliament has been exercised in a few instances. An example is the Copyright Act of 1872, where the Royal assent was refused.

The Governor-General is instructed so to reserve measures which in his judgment are inconsistent with Great Britain's treaty obligations, which prejudice the rights of British subjects outside Canada, or which strike at the Queen's supremacy, and, perhaps, others where like objections exist.

The preamble to the British North America Act recites that "the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united with the Dominion under the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." The essential resemblance of the Canadian constitution to that of Great Britain, and its essential difference from that of the United States, is shown by the fact that the administration is responsible to the House of Commons, and the Ministry must resign if they cease to be in accord with that majority. The appointment of all judges and senators, and of the

Speaker of the Senate and all executive officers, the allowance or disallowance of the acts of Provincial legislatures, the introduction of bills for raising and expending money, in general all executive administration and the institution and conduct of all important legislation, depends upon the will of a majority of the House of Commons. The number of Senators is limited. So that the resistance of the Senate to the desire of the House of Commons, cannot be overcome by the appointment of new Senators, as that of the House of Lords to the will of the Commons by a creation of Peers.

While, therefore, changes in the executive government and in the administration of that government respond to the popular will as represented by a majority of the House of Commons, in a manner unknown to the United States or to any of our States, if it were desired to declare the independence of Canada or to unite her to any other country, or to make for her a commercial union with any other country, which should give that country large advantages which were denied to Great Britain, the promoters of the plan must not only be able to overcome all the influences of patronage, of attachment to England, of jealousy of other countries, of conservatism, of the interests which bind influential men and strong parties to existing conditions, but they must encounter the legislative power of a Senate whose members are appointed by the crown and hold office for life, and the veto powers expressly reserved by the Act of 1867 to the royal Governor-General and to the Queen in Council. It may be that some method may be devised of forming such political or commercial union other than an act of the British Parliament or a revolution. But it is not yet apparent.

The Queen is commander-in-chief of all the forces, and has the right to determine the seat of government for the Dominion.

The seats of the several Provincial governments are determined by the executive authority of each.

The Dominion Parliament has also unrestricted authority to make provision for the uniformity of all or any laws relative to civil rights and property, and the procedure in the courts of the various Provinces. But these laws do not go into effect in any Province until adopted by the Legislature thereof.

As originally established in 1867, Canada consisted of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, who were to elect a House of Commons, consisting originally of 181 members, 82 for Ontario, 65 for Quebec, 19 for Nova Scotia, and 15 for New Brunswick, to be enlarged thereafter at the will of the Parliament of Canada, preserving, however, the proportion among those colonies according to population. The members of the House of Commons must possess the same qualifications as would entitle them to sit and vote in a Provincial assembly. The qualifications of voters may be prescribed from time to time by Parliament. The other House of Parliament of Canada consists of a Senate, originally of 72 members, each of whom must dwell in the Province from which he is appointed, must be a natural born subject of the Queen of Great Britain, or naturalized by either of the Provinces of the Union, or by the Parliament after the Union, and must be seized of a freehold worth four thousand dollars over all incumbrances, and must also be worth four thousand dollars above all debt. The person ceasing to have either of these qualifications ceases to be a Senator. The Senate originally consisted of 72 members, 24 each for Ontario and Quebec, and 24 for the maritime Provinces. The Queen may on recommendation of the Governor-General increase the number of Senators, three at a time, the total number not to exceed 78. Since the admission of the new Provinces the number of Senators has been increased to 80.

Sections 91, 92, and 93 of the British North America Act

are inserted here. They provide generally for the distribution of legislative power between the Dominion and the Provinces, and with what has already been said exhibit the general character of the Constitution of Canada :—

91. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order and Good Government of Canada in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the Generality of the foregoing Terms of this Section, it is hereby declared that (notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive Legislative Authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say :—

1. The Public Debt and Property.
2. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
3. The Raising of Money by any Mode or System of Taxation.
4. The borrowing of Money on the Public Credit.
5. Postal Service.
6. The Census and Statistics.
7. Militia, Military and Naval Service and Defence.
8. The fixing of and providing for the Salaries and Allowances of Civil and other Officers of the Government of Canada.
9. Beacons, Buoys, Lighthouses and Sable Island.
10. Navigation and Shipping.
11. Quarantine and the Establishment and Maintenance of Marine Hospitals.
12. Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries.
13. Ferries between a Province and any British or Foreign Country, or between Two Provinces.
14. Currency and Coinage.
15. Banking, Incorporation of Banks and the Issue of Paper Money.
16. Savings Banks.
17. Weights and Measures.
18. Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
19. Interest.
20. Legal Tender.

21. Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
22. Patents of Invention and Discovery.
23. Copyrights.
24. Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians.
25. Naturalization and Aliens.
26. Marriage and Divorce.
27. The Criminal Law, except the Constitution of the Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the Procedure in Criminal Matters.
28. The Establishment, Maintenance and Management of Penitentiaries.
29. Such Classes of Subjects as are expressly excepted in the Enumeration of the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

And any Matter coming within any of the Classes of Subjects enumerated in this Section shall not be deemed to come within the Class of Matters of a local or private Nature comprised in the Enumeration of the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

92. In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated ; that is to say :

1. The Amendment from Time to Time, notwithstanding anything in this Act, of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the Office of Lieutenant-Governor.
2. Direct Taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes.
3. The borrowing of Money on the sole Credit of the Province.
4. The Establishment and Tenure of Provincial Offices, and the Appointment and Payment of Provincial Officers.
5. The Management and Sale of the Public Lands belonging to the Province, and of the Timber and Wood thereon.
6. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Public and Reformatory Prisons in and for the Province.
7. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Hospitals, Asylums, Charities and Eleemosynary

Institutions in and for the Province, other than Marine Hospitals.

8. Municipal Institutions in the Province.
9. Shop, Saloon, Tavern, Auctioneer, and other Licenses, in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial, Local or Municipal Purposes.
10. Local Works and Undertakings, other than such as are of the following Classes,—
 - a. Lines of Steam or other Ships, Railways, Canals, Telegraphs, and other Works and Undertakings, connecting the Province, with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the Limits of the Province :
 - b. Lines of Steamships between the Province and any British or Foreign Country :
 - c. Such Works as, although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their Execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general Advantage of Canada or for the Advantage of two or more of the Provinces.
11. The Incorporation of Companies with Provincial Objects.
12. Solemnization of Marriage in the Province.
13. Property and Civil Rights in the Province.
14. The Administration of Justice in the Province, including the Constitution, Maintenance, and Organization of Provincial Courts, both of Civil and of Criminal Jurisdiction, and including Procedure in Civil Matters in those Courts.
15. The Imposition of Punishment by Fine, Penalty, or Imprisonment for enforcing any law of the Province made in relation to any Matter coming within any of the Classes of subjects enumerated in this Section.
16. Generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the Province.

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions :—

- (1.) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union ;

- (2.) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec;
- (3.) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education;
- (4.) In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor-General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section, and of any Decision of the Governor-General in Council under this Section.

The important particulars, then, in which the institutions of Canada differ from our own—and they are important as showing what things in a constitution established in 1787 have seemed wise to the statesmen of 1867—are these:—

Their system of changing the executive with the changing majority of the House of Commons. Of this a few words will be said presently.

The presence of their Executive in Parliament.

The Government's initiation and control of legislation.

The permanent tenure of their civil service, which does not change with the changes of political power.

The reservation of the power over divorce to the central government. The Senate of the Dominion is the tribunal

of such trials, except in the maritime provinces. In Quebec divorce is not allowed by the Church to Catholics. So from 1869 to 1886 there were but 116 divorces in Canada, to 328,613 in the United States.

The life tenure of the Senate.

The appointment of its members by the Government.

Their property qualification.

The real absence of any considerable weight in legislation from the upper house. This house is always reluctant to make any substantial modification in Government measures.

The general prevalence of the Australian ballot system.

The property qualification for voting and for seats in Parliament.

A Judiciary appointed by the Crown and holding office during good behavior, but dependent upon the Legislature for their salaries.

The jurisdiction in the courts of all cases of contested elections.

The right of impeachment and of trial by the legislature, which James Monroe said is the mainspring of the great machine of government, is unknown to Canada.

Canada has no bill of rights.

No constitution was ever submitted to the people there, except in a single instance in New Brunswick.

Her whole polity is controlled by the one pervading fact that in the last resort the power which governs her is from above and from without, and not from below and from within. The Queen appoints her Governor-General, the Governor-General appoints the Ministry and the Senate. The Ministry initiates all legislation. An appeal lies from her highest court to the Privy Council in England. The British Parliament can at any time overthrow her Constitution at a stroke. All her treaties are made by a power foreign to her. All her legislation is subject to the triple veto power of her Majesty.

It is doubtful, also, whether, under the great control exercised by the central power over the Province, State affection, State pride, State sovereignty, local public spirit, which have had so strong an influence upon us, and to which we owe what is greatest in our history, can ever be engendered there. The executive head of the Province is appointed by the executive of the Dominion. His salary is fixed and provided by the Dominion Parliament. In those Provinces where there are two legislative houses, the members of the upper branch are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for life. The Governor-General has an absolute veto over all Provincial legislation. The pardoning power for the Provinces is vested in the Governor-General. It will be seen by the sections of the Act of 1867 which we have cited, how large a share of the legislative power which we leave to the States, especially in the matter of crimes, is exercised in Canada by the Dominion.

But the distinction which Canadian students like specially to insist on between their parliament and ours is that which we have already briefly spoken of—the change in the executive with the changing majority in the House of Commons. Canada has adopted the modern English system, which never has obtained here in the national government or in any State. Indeed, it was not fairly established in England very long before our Constitution was framed. To establish it here would require the complete abrogation of the authority of the President, except so far as he should determine what members of the popular legislative branch were the persons who were entitled to be entrusted with power as best representing its will. It would require, also, the abolition of the legislative function of the President. It would require that the authority of the Senate, both in ordinary legislation and in the treaty-making power (which is but another form of legislation), should be nominal only, or at most should be only sufficient for unimportant amendments to measures proposed by the other House, or to require the other House

occasionally to reconsider its purposes. It would also require elections of members of the House for a long term, and the vesting in the government the power of dissolution and appeal to the people.

A discussion of the comparative advantages of this system and our own is a tempting subject, to which a larger space than can be given to this Report might profitably be devoted. We do not believe that such a form of government would have been practicable during the early period of our history. Nor do we believe that it would be practicable now. It would certainly be rendered very difficult by the great number of important questions which present themselves for solution almost at the same time in the United States, and which will increase with us with the increase of our population and wealth and the variety of our interests. Suppose one party to-day could carry a majority of the House of Representatives on the question of control of national elections, or on the tariff, or the national banking system, or subsidies for foreign commerce, or the question of silver coinage, or the expenditures for rivers and harbors, or reciprocity with Canada, or with South America, and the other party could carry a majority on the rest of these questions or some of them. The Congress which has just adjourned was the first for sixteen years where the Executive and both Houses of Congress were in the power of the same party. It dealt with more than twenty great subjects, the fate of any one of which would have overthrown or established an administration in England. Must we have a new national election every three weeks, whenever one or the other of them had been brought to a vote? We should have, also, if this were attempted, to change the constitutional term of office of the Representative. With all the power and greatness of England, she has as compact a population as one of our great States. Canada has but five millions of inhabitants. Although her territory is nearly as large as ours, her population is much less widely scattered.

Her present system will, it is believed, be found impracticable long before her population equals that of the United States.

Her present system of government has not so far been found wholly satisfactory in its operation. Within twenty years, in spite of the vast aids she has received from England, she has contracted a debt of more than six hundred million dollars. Meantime our mighty magnet has attracted the best of her population to us. Halifax, Quebec and Montreal are but ports of entry for an immigration to the United States. There are probably 1,250,000 Canadians now dwelling in this country.

But we shall have dealt with but half this subject, until the very peculiar relation to Canada of the Province of Quebec, and of the French Catholic population who control that Province, and are spreading into some districts of Ontario and into Northwest Canada, is fully understood. The space in the Proceedings of the Society which may fairly be allotted to this Report forbids us from even entering upon this most attractive topic. Quebec has an area of 258,634 square miles. Deducting 69,946 covered by the inland waters and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there are still left 188,688 square miles—a territory exceeding that of France by 54,000 square miles—with a population of about 1,500,000, of whom 88 per cent. are Catholics. This population makes up 30 per cent. of all Canada, and sends seventy French members to the Dominion House of Commons. The political control of this body of men is ecclesiastical to an extent far greater than that exercised by the Catholic Church or any other in any country of Europe. What is the aspiration of the churchmen who control Quebec as to its ultimate destiny, it is impossible to say. *La Vérité*, an influential paper in the Province of Quebec, declares that it is the aspiration of the French Canadian people to establish a nation which shall perform on this continent the part France has played so long in Europe, and

shall profess the Catholic faith and speak the French language, and that they never will lose sight of this national destiny. M. Mercier, the premier of Quebec, and in every way the foremost of her public men, is understood to favor annexation to the United States. Meantime the Church keeps her own counsel and maintains unimpaired the influence which she has exerted under all forms of government since the days when Cotton Mather said, "Sir William Phipps had Canada as much written upon his heart as Calais was upon Queen Mary's. He needed not one," continues Mather, "to have been his daily monitor about Canada: it lay down with him, it rose up with him, it engrossed almost all his thoughts."

We must leave a sketch of what may be called the constitutional history of Quebec and a consideration of its relation to the rest of Canada to another paper, if we are to discuss the subject at all.

By the terms of capitulation, signed September 8, 1760, by which Canada passed under British control, Great Britain bound herself to allow the French Canadians the free exercise of their religion. Certain religious fraternities and all communities of *religieux* were guaranteed the possession of their goods, constitutions, and privileges. A similar favor, however, was denied to the Jesuits, until the King should be consulted. A like reservation was made with respect to the tithes of the parochial clergy. By the Treaty of Paris, September 10, 1763, Great Britain bound herself to allow the Canadians the free exercise of their religion. In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed.

This statute is to the French Canadian of Quebec what Magna Charta is to England—a sacred and irrepealable bill of rights. There was bitter hostility to it in Great Britain on the part of the Opposition. It was earnestly denounced as the surrender of the rights of Protestants. With this hostility our ancestors in America deeply sympathized. Undoubtedly the knowledge of this sympathy had

much to do with inducing the Church to give its great influence toward preserving the loyalty of Canada and in defeating the alliance which the insurgent colonies so eagerly desired. Under the Quebec Act the choice of bishops has been left to the Church without interference by the secular power—a liberty which it has never enjoyed in France or in England. The clergy have maintained with great skill their power over Quebec from that day to this. The influence of the parish system of Quebec, its extension into the other provinces of Canada which lie to the westward, its control over the legislation of the Dominion, the effect of its claim for tithes, which constitute the first lien on all the real estate owned by Catholics, the discontent with the rule of the Church introduced by the French Canadians who settle in the United States or go back after a brief sojourn here, the rapid increase of the race under the encouragement given by the Church authorities to early marriages and great families, the docile and thrifty character of the *habitant*—afford a most interesting and profitable field of study, which we cannot enter now.

It is idle to speculate as to the destiny of Canada. The writer has never been one of those who believe that material interest will in the near future bring the people of Canada into a political union with the United States. While the strength of the interests which so incline her is very great, yet they do not seem to be greater in proportion to the resisting power than they have been always in the past. Under her Constitution, as has already been shown, annexation to this country can hardly be accomplished without the consent of Great Britain or without a violent revolution. A conquest of Canada by the United States would be as repugnant to us as to her. She already feels stirring in her veins the spirit of her rising nationality. Her people are coming to feel proud of the extent of her domain, of her vast material resources. They are forgetting the language

of the province, and are learning to speak the language of the empire. She already

“Rises like the issue of a king;
And wears upon her baby brow the round
And top of sovereignty.”

We will not undertake to foretell whether the destiny of Canada is to remain, as now, the most important dependency of the British Empire, self-governing in everything but name; or whether she is to form a part of a great confederation of all the English-speaking peoples on the globe; or whether she is to declare her independence, and repeat, with such changes as experience shall suggest to her, our own history; or whether she is to come to us, and share the advantages of our Constitution, and develop the resources of the North American continent in a great partnership with us; or whether, after some fashion that the imagination cannot now suggest, there are to rise on her soil in the future

“Phantoms of other forms of rule,
New majesties of mighty states.”

But whatever may be her fate, it will be one to which the people of the United States cannot be indifferent.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1891.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds October 1, 1890.

Owing to the unusually large number of newspapers it was considered necessary to have bound during the past six months, the "Bookbinding Fund" shows a decrease of about two hundred dollars, and with the approval of the Committee seventy-five dollars has been transferred to this Fund from the income of the Tenney Fund. By the accumulation of income the Lincoln Legacy Fund now amounts to \$3,113.73, a gain of over \$2,000 on the original amount of the fund. The attention of the Society is called to this fact in the hope that some plan may be suggested by which a practical benefit may be derived from the income.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,743.98.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1891, was \$110,629.71, divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,525.54
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,942.56
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,250.01
The Publishing Fund,.....	22,455.33
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,669.80
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	3,113.73
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,080.28
The Salisbury Building Fund,	4,771.92
The Alden Fund,.....	1,270.82
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00

The Haven Fund,.....	1,314.87
The George Chandler Fund,.....	522.98
The Francis H. Dewey Fund.....	2,260.93
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	1,743.98
	<hr/>
	\$110,629.71

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$1,231.44.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1891, is as follows :

DR.

1890. Oct. 1. Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$911.53
1891. April 1. Received for interest to date,.....	3,294.29
“ “ Received for annual assessments,.....	100.00
“ “ Received from sale of books and pamphlets,.....	142.66
“ “ Bank tax refunded,.....	411.09
“ “ Drawn from Savings Banks,	3,520.05
	<hr/>
	\$8,379.62

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1891,.....	\$1,490.01
By expense of repairs,.....	13.88
By printing "Proceedings".....	408.73
Books purchased,.....	118.72
For binding,.....	490.15
Incidental expenses,.....	195.84
For Insurance,	45.00
Loans on Mortgage Notes,	4,000.00
Deposited in Savings Banks,.....	385.85
	<hr/>
	\$7,148.18
Balance in cash April 1, 1891,.....	1,231.44
	<hr/>
	\$8,379.62

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1890,	\$39,485.09
Income to April 1, 1891,	184.45
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	75.00
	<hr/>
	\$40,744.54
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,013.01
Incidental expenses.....	160.99
For Insurance,	45.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,219.00
1891, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....	<hr/>
	\$39,525.54

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$18,789.80
For books sold,	115.66
Income to April 1, 1891,	563.69
	<hr/>
	\$19,469.15
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	526.59
	<hr/>
1891, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$18,942.56

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1891,	\$6,499.43
Income to April 1, 1891,	195.73
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	75.00
	<hr/>
	\$6,770.16
Paid for binding,	490.15
	<hr/>
1891, April 1. Amount of Fund,	\$6,280.01

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$22,178.46
Income to April 1, 1891,	666.35
Publications sold,	20.25
	<hr/>
	\$22,865.06
Cost of printing "Proceedings,"	409.73
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1891,	\$22,455.33

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$1,626.02
Income to April 1, 1891,	48.78
	<hr/>
	\$1,674.80
Paid for books,	5.00
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1891,	\$1,669.80

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$3,023.62
Income to April 1, 1891,	90.11
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1891,	\$3,113.73

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$1,002.29
Income to April 1, 1891,	32.77
	<hr/>
	\$1,125.06
Paid for books,	44.78
	<hr/>
Balance April 1, 1891,	\$1,080.28

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,.....	\$4,846.41	
Income to April 1, 1891,.....	139.39	
	<u>\$4,785.80</u>	
Paid for repairs,.....	18.88	
Balance April 1, 1891,.....		\$4,771.92

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$1,233.81	
Income to April 1, 1891,.....	87.01	
	<u></u>	
Balance April 1, 1891,.....		\$1,270.82

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,.....	\$5,000.00	
Income to April 1, 1891,	150.00	
	<u>\$5,150.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$75.00	
" " Bookbinding " 	75.00	150.00
	<u></u>	
Balance April 1, 1891,.....		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$1,292.40	
Income to April 1, 1891,.....	88.77	
	<u>\$1,381.17</u>	
Paid for books,.....	16.30	
Balance April 1, 1891,.....		\$1,314.87

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,	\$515.32	
Income to April 1, 1891,.....	15.46	
Books sold	6.00	
	<u>\$536.78</u>	
Paid for books,.....	18.80	
Balance April 1, 1891,.....		\$522.98

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1890,.....	\$2,201.64	
Income to April 1, 1891,.....	66.04	
	<u>\$2,267.68</u>	
Paid for books,.....	6.75	
Balance April 1, 1891,		\$2,260.93
Total of the thirteen funds,.....		\$108,208.77
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....		676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....		1,743.98
April 1, 1891, total,.....		<u>\$110,629.71</u>

1891.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 894.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,234.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	472.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	555.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,544.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	780.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	700.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	6,018.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,266.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,681.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$23,000.00	\$30,274.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,065.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	750.00

BONDS.

Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,140.00
Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,660.00
Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,210.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	4,988.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,.....	3,000.00	2,420.00
Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	55,250.00	55,250.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	348.27	348.27
Cash in National Bank on interest,.....	1,231.44	1,231.44
	\$110,629.71	\$120,336.71

WORCESTER, Mass., April 1, 1891.

Respectfully submitted.

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1891, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

A. G. BULLOCK.

April 20, 1891.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE many-sided work of the library has gone steadily forward since the last meeting. Good progress has been made upon the card catalogue, a work which cannot wisely be hurried, while an unusual amount of personal and epistolary aid has been rendered to some of the leading historical, literary and bibliographical works of the day. It is also gratifying to be able to report that help has been sought by the historical departments of more than one of our leading colleges for women, and that in other ways we have quietly followed our mission as a society for the diffusion of knowledge. The arrival from the bindery of a fresh invoice of the new series of the Society's Proceedings, reminds us that we make books as well as keep them, and that members can secure this series, or any portion thereof, well bound and in good order at a very low cost.

At the opening of the present month, your librarian was allowed the retrospect of twenty-five years of delightful and uninterrupted labor for the American Antiquarian Society. While this panoramic view was to him full of interest and encouragement, it would perhaps be unprofitable to reproduce it here. As our library and its invested funds have greatly increased during this period, so also, we will hope, has its usefulness kept pace therewith. While but twenty-three of our present members were on the roll April 1, 1866, it is pleasant to recall the fact that they still continue among the most active of our associates. A glance at our revised membership list of January 1, 1890, shows that this small company includes the names of President Stephen Salisbury; Vice-President George F. Hoar; Councillors Edward E. Hale, Samuel A. Green and Andrew P. Peabody; Secretary

for Foreign Correspondence J. Hammond Trumbull; Secretary for Domestic Correspondence George E. Ellis; and Treasurer Nathaniel Paine. Such knowledge as they necessarily possess of our past, will insure a wise direction of the interests of the Society.

The following paragraphs from the Report of the Council, April 28, 1852, are of interest as supplementary to the just tribute paid Doctor John Park by the Reverend Edward H. Hall at our last meeting. Mr. Samuel F. Haven says for the Council:—

“Dr. Park had accumulated a valuable and extensive classical and general library, of which, as will be seen by the report of the librarian, a useful and liberal portion has been presented by his representatives to the Society.”

In his report as librarian, Mr. Haven, adds:—

“In the distribution of the library of the late Dr. Park, this Society has become the recipient of a valuable share through the liberality of Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas. Many works that would have tempted most men to secure them for their own private use, have been generously transferred to the Society because appropriate to its objects. Some are elegant, many are rare, and nearly all are in good condition. The whole number of volumes is five hundred and ninety-six, and the number of pamphlets, including unbound periodicals, is seven hundred and twenty-seven. This contribution, so liberal and beneficent in itself, may also serve as a pleasant memorial of a respected member of the Society, for a long time one of its Council and actively promoting its interests.”

The completion of what is practically *the* building of the Worcester Free Public Library, may not only serve to remind us to congratulate its Librarian, Mr. Samuel S. Green of our Council, but to recall the words of Ex-President Salisbury as expressed to this Society's Council nearly forty years ago. In the communication referred to, he indicated his desire that the first home of the Public Library should be in our lower hall, adding that “The accommodation of a public library seems to be a use not only appropriate to

the Antiquarian Hall but well calculated to add grace to the character of this venerable Society." Since the formal opening there has been, under the direction of the Worcester Art Society, a month's educational exhibition of portraits by American artists. To this we have contributed Alexander's Hannah Adams, Copley's Charles Paxton, Custer's Samuel Foster Haven, Huntington's Stephen Salisbury, Pelham's Cotton Mather, and Wight's Alexander von Humboldt. At this point I will take the liberty of adding, for the convenient reference and use of members, the names of such of our associates as are librarians. The untitled list which, arranged by seniority of election into this Society, represents various classes of libraries in widely separated library centres, would begin with the name of J. Hammond Trumbull but for his recent withdrawal from long and distinguished service in the Watkinson Library of Hartford, Conn. The names, both of the librarians and libraries, follow: Samuel A. Green, Massachusetts Historical Society; Reuben A. Guild, Brown University; William F. Poole, Newberry; Robert A. Brock, Virginia Historical Society; Edmund M. Barton, American Antiquarian Society; Franklin B. Dexter, Yale University; George H. Moore, Lenox; Samuel S. Green, Worcester Free Public; Justin Winsor, Harvard University; Henry W. Haynes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; J. Fletcher Williams, Minnesota Historical Society; William Harden, Georgia Historical Society; and William E. Foster, Providence Public. We do not forget that private libraries of great value are represented in the Society, notably the John Carter Brown and the Hubert Howe Bancroft.

As a widely scattered society it is proper that we take an active and intelligent interest in the placing of monuments in honor of the up-builders of our respective cities, towns, institutions, etc., as well as in the proper nomenclature of parks, squares, and streets. This good work has in some cases been accomplished by the local historical society, in

others by a committee duly authorized by the town, and again by a few earnest, influential and well-organized citizens, like the Boston Memorial Association. The whole subject deserves not only our careful consideration but our hearty coöperation, in the interest of American history. A chapter of illustrations, more or less striking, of what has been done and what left undone in various sections of the country, will readily occur to you. One would for instance expect to find in the city of our head-quarters, if not a tablet at least an avenue, street, court or lane bearing the name of Daniel Gookin, one of its earliest and best friends, but he will look for it in vain. It should be added, however, that the Worcester Society of Antiquity at its annual meeting of the current year appointed a committee to mark historic spots. This committee—who might well consider the other branch of the subject herein referred to—consists of four, one of whom is our Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., an acknowledged authority on historic localities in the city of his birth. We may well remember that we owe a debt of gratitude to some of our members, living and dead, for long and faithful service in both these directions. Some thought has of late years been given to the naming of streets, but it has apparently not resulted, at least in our own country, in such wisdom of action as we could desire. One recalls Lord Bacon's saying that "A name though it seem but a superficial and outward matter, yet carrieth much impression and* enchantment," and Salverte's remark, a century later, that "The history of the names of streets belongs to the history of a town." And such convincing paragraphs as the following from Rev. Dr. James Freeman Clarke's paper *On Giving Names to Towns and Streets*: "Ought we not to regard these names as historic monuments and choose such as will commemorate the events and persons belonging to the history of the place? We ought to consider that to give a name to a place is a very important act, involving no little responsibility; and should therefore be confided

to judicious and enlightened persons. The qualities required for a good name seem to be individuality, character and agreeable associations. A name good in itself is bad when it means nothing. In naming the streets of a city, it is desirable to make the names historic monuments of the men and events of past history. We can preserve in our streets the memory of wise and good men whose feet have formerly walked in them." A short but suggestive report of the committee on naming the streets of Canton, Mass., was printed in 1881. This committee decided, and it would seem wisely, "That they will give to the streets, in all cases where it is possible, names historically connected with Canton. Also, that main roads leading from Canton direct to another town, shall be designated by the name of the town towards which said road leads. That so far as a street extends in a straight line or nearly straight line, it shall have but one name, and that every ten years a committee ought to be chosen to name the new streets." While the serious side of this question is apparent, a cursory examination of our alcove of directories has revealed its humorous aspects; but my present purpose is seriously to urge increased attention to the subject thus briefly presented.

Our library statistics follow: From two hundred and eighty-four sources, viz., from forty-one members, one hundred and twenty-four persons not members, and one hundred and nineteen societies and institutions, we have received as gifts six hundred and sixty-four books, three thousand and twenty-three pamphlets, one hundred and eighty-five volumes of unbound newspapers, one hundred and ninety-eight war envelopes, one hundred and thirty-eight photographs, five volumes of manuscripts, three medals, three heliotypes, two coins, one specimen of Continental money, a cannon ball, and fire fender. By exchange four hundred and ninety-two books and fifty-one hundred and eighty pamphlets; and from the bindery

three hundred and twenty-one volumes of newspapers, and eighty-four volumes of magazines; making the total receipts twelve hundred and forty books, eighty-two hundred and three pamphlets, three hundred and twenty-one volumes of bound and one hundred and eighty-five of unbound newspapers, etc.

While a complete list of givers and gifts forms an essential part of this report, it seems desirable to make special mention of the following: Hon. Henry S. Nourse's gift indicates his careful editing of the Birth, Marriage and Death Register of Lancaster, Mass., 1643—1850. Dr. George Chandler has added to our manuscript room, material relating to the Chandler, Greene, Perrin and other families, and Mr. Robert N. Toppan has remembered our small collection of medals. Hon. Samuel A. Green has made an important contribution to our War of the Rebellion envelope collection made by Mr. Nathaniel Paine in 1861; who has at this time placed more than one hundred American and foreign portraits in our card photograph port-folios. President Salisbury's semi-annual offering includes a brass and wire fender, a safeguard much needed for the fireplace in the card catalogue room. Mr. Hamilton Andrews Hill, on accepting membership, has forwarded not only his exhaustive work upon the History of the Old South Church, Boston, but such others of his publications as were not already upon our shelves; while Mr. Henry Adams continues to send, as issued, his elaborate History of the United States of America. Dr. William F. Poole presents a complete set of "The Owl," which he says "I edited soon after I came to Chicago, and, after the second or third number, wrote all the critical notices of books and other matter in it. It began October 1, 1874, and ended March, 1876. It has some historical articles in it. I do not believe any other library will have all the numbers." Dr. Poole has also completed for us "The Dial,"—also published in Chicago,—to which he has made important historical and critical contributions. Mr.

William A. Smith has, from time to time, recognized his membership by transferring library treasures from his own home to ours. The present transfer includes Dyce's rare eleven-volume edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, which was published in London, 1843-46; and Heeren's *Ancient Greece*, translated by George Bancroft, and printed in Boston in 1842. The last offering of our late associate, the Reverend Henry M. Dexter, D.D., was his "English Exiles in Amsterdam, 1597-1625," which he placed upon the librarian's table at the October meeting. Among the pamphlets received from Prof. Franklin B. Dexter are numbers of the Connecticut Almanac for the current year, in which is reprinted his valuable "Estimates of Population in the New England Colonies." Our Recording Secretary, the Hon. John D. Washburn, Minister to Switzerland, forwards a beautiful and valuable gift with the following endorsement: "The Municipality of Zurich have just published a very handsome book to illustrate their Collection of Antiquities. Very few copies have been printed, and very few indeed will ever reach our country. I have fortunately been able to procure a copy which I send as a present to the Society." Dr. Otto Keller of the German Empire, has placed his cabinet photograph in the album provided for members. The following paragraphs from a note addressed to the librarian Feb. 27, 1891, by Mrs. Charles Deane need no explanation: "My husband wished you to place a copy of Mr. Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, when it was published, in your library. It is now ready, and I am happy to fulfil his wishes." In the preface to the *Series of Historical Manuscripts* thus collected and so ably edited by Mr. Brown, he makes due acknowledgment to "The late Charles Deane, LL.D., of Cambridge, Mass., who gave me his helping hand from the beginning to the end; his last letter to me is expressive of his interest and great faith in my work." Surely Mr. Brown need not desire a better endorsement than that of our late Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

The Davis, Thomas, Haven, Chandler and Dewey book funds representing respectively the departments of Spanish America, local history, American history in general, genealogy, and what perhaps may be called judicial biography, have as usual yielded not large but valuable returns. The semi-annual appearance of these names in our Treasurer's report reminds us, not only of the founders of these funds, but also that other fields, some of which have been suggested from time to time by your librarian, still remain unoccupied. The best possible returns are sought by a constant and careful examination of domestic and foreign catalogues, as the very limitation of our book funds makes it of the first importance. It is at least of secondary importance that the librarian know and be able to state our pressing needs, while waiting patiently for them to be filled; and moreover that he vigorously try to cultivate a spirit of gratitude for the treasures already in his keeping.

Mention is here made of the report of Mr. John G. Ames, Superintendent of the Document Room at Washington, that attention may be drawn to his plea for an official indexer of the rapidly increasing mass of public documents. Hon. Ziba C. Keith has promptly answered a request for his Genealogy of the descendants of Benjamin Keith; Miss Gertrude Hakes has presented the Hakes Family through the kindness of the author, Hon. Harry Hakes; and Mr. James J. Goodwin sends "The Goodwins of Hartford, Connecticut," whose title-page modestly states that the work was compiled for him. Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield's contribution is as usual of elegant and useful books of to-day, supplemented at this time by an addition to our collection of medals. Dr. Alexander F. Chamberlain, of Clark University, has deposited nine of his brochures on the languages, customs, beliefs, etc., of the American Indians, as an acknowledgment of service rendered. The books received from Mrs. Alonzo Hill are of peculiar interest, as they were from the library of the Hon. Charles H.

Atherton of Amherst, N. H., for many years a member of the Society, and a brother-in-law of the giver. We are indebted to the Class of 1829 (H. U.) for their "Songs and Poems, Part III." received through the Rev. Samuel May, class secretary; and to the late George W. Gale for relics of the Mexican War. Messrs. Drew, Allis & Company have made another large contribution to our alcove of directories; and the Rev. Henry T. Cheever continues to add the *Hawaiian Gazette* to the early file, received for so many years from our late associate the Rev. Samuel C. Damon, D.D. We have received from the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Association the last four volumes of their Collections, the first twelve volumes of which were placed upon our shelves by our late associate, Chief Justice James V. Campbell. A gift suggested by the reading at our last meeting of the Hon. Samuel A. Green's paper on the "Northern Boundary of Massachusetts in its Relations to New Hampshire," has reached us from the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. Prof. Frederick W. Putnam says in his letter of gift, April 13, 1891: "I sent by express on Saturday the cast of the Endicott rock, feeling that it is more appropriate in the Antiquarian Society than in this Museum. At the last annual meeting of the Society I stated that I would send the cast. You will please credit it as received from the Peabody Museum. On page 62, of volume 3, of the Museum Reports, you will find all that I know about the specimen. It may be well to state on the label that this cast was given to the Peabody Museum by the Directors of the Winnepiseogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company in 1871." Through the Portland (Me.) Public Library and the Oregon Emigration Board, we have received local material relating to the Portlands of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Both the Library and the Board appear to be well fitted to act as agents for the distribution of their local history. In acknowledging from the Historical Society of

Pennsylvania the Catalogue of the Tower Collection of Colonial Laws now in their possession, I wish to quote with approval the following paragraphs from the *Library Journal* of January, 1891, relating thereto: "The collection cannot readily be duplicated, nor is there longer the necessity for it. The Colonial laws of this country are very rare and high-priced and are moreover a very difficult class to collect and to keep track of. One library is willing to do this, and it deserves aid and coöperation from other libraries and not rivalry and competition. Rare editions will come into the market in the future which will be of more use and value in this collection than any other. No library has more money to spend on books than it needs. Let them leave these then to this Society and buy something quite as much needed on their shelves. This is practical specialization and economy."

We have recently received from Paris, through the United States Department of State, the medal and diploma awarded this Society for its exhibit at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889. The medal is of bronze, about two and a half inches in diameter, and is from a design of Mr. Louis Botee, being one of a series submitted by leading French designers. One side represents the figure of Labor seated on an anvil and holding a hammer, with Wisdom, a helmeted Minerva, seated beneath the tree of Peace and extending a wreath to crown the head of Labor, whose finger points downward to a view of the Exhibition buildings and the Eiffel tower. On the reverse side is Fame with her wings spread, embracing the Republic and sounding a blast on her trumpet. Beneath is the inscription *Société Américaine des Antiquaires*. It will be remembered that our contribution was a set of the new series of our Proceedings and that it was presented, in the spirit of international courtesy, to *La Société Américaine de France*. The receipt, from an unknown source, of the rare Cincinnati Directory of 1829 suggests the remark, that librarians

desire to thank the giver speedily as well as gratefully, and hence object to anonymous contributions. The legible stamping of all post-office parcels as well as letters, might sometimes aid in the discovery of the modest but unknown friend.

A successful exchange of Japanese and Spanish-American duplicates has recently been made with one of our London correspondents through whom the British Museum has thus been served. In return rare *Americana* have re-crossed the Atlantic to us, and two representative libraries of England and the United States have thereby been strengthened. Duplicates of less intrinsic value have been disposed of as heretofore by sales and exchanges in the United States. The following paragraphs refer to duplicate text-books bearing the imprint of towns in a neighboring State to whose Historical Society they were sent: "Thank you for your kind remembrance of us and for the example of your thoroughly practical idea of what to do with certain duplicates. I hope to do the same thing some day if that longed for time ever comes to a busy librarian." Also this from the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of one of our Massachusetts town libraries: "We beg to thank the Society you represent for the copy of Scott's Lessons which your thoughtfulness has directed hither, for it has the special and to us the very great interest of having been printed in this town." The unusually large receipts by exchange are accounted for by the fact that a mass of school books, periodicals, funeral sermons, railroad and benevolent society reports, book catalogues, etc., have reached us from the New England Historic-Genealogical Society as the result of the recent winnowing process in its library. It is a noteworthy fact that our most desirable exchanges have generally been effected after personal interviews at the annual conferences of the American Library Association.

A possible source of library enrichment was mentioned

twenty-five years ago by Mr. Nathaniel Paine in the Council Report of April; 1866, as follows: "The Committee from the Council appointed to examine the library desire to mention, that among the bound pamphlets they find several in which there are duplicates and in some cases triplicates of rare publications which at some time may render it advisable to cause such volumes to be rebound and the extra pamphlets kept to exchange for others not in the library." This source has not only been kept constantly in mind but has been utilized to some extent in several departments. When the card catalogue of the library is completed we shall have more exact knowledge upon the subject and be better able to act advisedly. Inasmuch as we have no branch libraries to supply, have not thus far ordinarily attempted the furnishing of two or more departments with the same work, nor kept extra copies to provide for wear and tear, our stock of duplicates has been both large and valuable.

In connection with the many articles of interest in our library, your attention is called to the following which seem worthy of special notice. Inside our Hancock clock is found the following in the handwriting of Dr. Samuel F. Haven: "This clock was the property of Governor John Hancock. Presented to the American Antiquarian Society July, 1838, by John Chandler, Esq., of Petersham, Mass. By a mark on one of the wheels it appears to have been cleaned in December, 1754, and has now, February 17, 1856, been cleaned again." This chiming English time-piece which has so faithfully served the Society for nearly fifty-three years, and which with the Hancock sofa and side-board, was one of Mr. Haven's first acquisitions, is now for the first time mentioned in our Proceedings. It is an excellent time-keeper over nine feet in height, probably a century and a half old, and was made by Bowley of London as indicated by a silver plate upon its face. In searching for facts as to its age and maker, I appealed with

confidence to Irving W. Lyon, M.D., of Hartford, Conn., one of the highest authorities in America on early furniture, for reciprocal service in the matter. He has kindly replied with the following information which I desire to place on record herewith. "I find the name of Devereux Bowley admitted a member of the Clockmakers Company of London in 1718. Next is the following from volume 1 of my notebooks of travel in Europe in 1886:—The *Daily Post* (London), April 1, 1731, 'Lost last week a new fashion'd gold minute watch made by Bowley, No. 380. It had ty'd to it, etc., whoever will bring the said watch and seal to Devereux Bowley watchmaker, in Lombard-street shall receive seven Guineas Reward for the Watch and one Guinea for the Seal, and no questions asked.' I did not run on his name again in my search of old London newspapers from 1660–1760. Kent's Directory (the first) of London begins in 1754. In the first number (1754) appears the following: 'Bowley Devereux, watchmaker, Lombard Street.' In 1768 his name appears with No. 54 Lombard Street, and again with the same in 1760. It does not appear at all in the Directory for 1771, so that Devereux Bowley is here traced from 1718 to 1770. No other watchmaker named Bowley is found in the list of the members of the Clockmakers Company, and no other Bowley I believe in Kent's Directory, or I should have noted it. The number (380) on the watch advertised in the *Daily Post* in 1731 shows that he had been a maker then for some time, and serves to identify the Devereux Bowley of the Clockmakers Company with Devereux Bowley, watchmaker, in Lombard Street in 1731. As the name is peculiar and we have it 1718, 1731, 1754, 1766 and 1770, I should say that there was no reasonable doubt that we have traced the maker of your clock from his early manhood to his ripe old age." In a later communication Dr. Lyon says: "I have examined the inventory of John Hancock dated 1794 for clocks, with this result: 'Great entry, 1 clock walnut cased finer'd,

£6.' This is the only clock mentioned in the inventory, and, as you will see, describes your old clock accurately."

In the *Critic* of October 11, 1890, Mr. C. Howard Shinn in his "Plea for a Pamphlet Age" says: "The care taken to collect and preserve pamphlets in all great libraries and the way in which important matters are so often settled by the evidence of obscure pamphlets, prove that thoughtful men who wish to have their articles printed exactly as they write them, can do worse than rely on the pamphlet. A single copy sent to the Astor or Peabody, to Yale or Harvard, may have to wait a hundred years for its interpreter, but if it contains the 'seed of power' its growth season will certainly come." Following the remarks upon the office clock, I desire to call your attention briefly to a unique pamphlet of the "single copy" class referred to by Mr. Shinn, though it may well be doubted whether it has within it that "seed of power" to which he refers! It is a pamphlet deposited in our library nearly fifty years ago, probably by our fourth President, the Hon. John Davis, and entered by Mr. Haven in our interleaved catalogue as "Dickens, Charles, Phrenological Development of, as given by L. N. Fowler." Its title-page gives the following information: "Synopsis of Phrenology; and the Phrenological Developments together with the Character and Talents of C. Dickens, Esq., as given by L. N. Fowler, February 5, 1842. With references to those pages of Phrenology Proved, Illustrated and Applied in which will be found a full and correct delineation of the intellectual and moral character and manifestations of the above-named individual." Then follows the "Explanation. The proportionate size of the phrenological organs of the individual examined and consequently the relative power and energy of his primary mental powers; that is his moral and intellectual character and manifestations, will be indicated by the written figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: figure 1 signifying very small, 2 small, 3 moderate, 4 average, 5 full,

6 large, 7 very large." There is added, apparently in the handwriting of the examiner: "Taken by L. N. Fowler at the Residence of the Hon. John Davis in Worcester, while Mr. Dickens was visiting there." The result of the examination follows: "Size of the Brain 6, Strength of the System 6, Degree of Activity 6. Temperament: Lymphatick 3, Sanguine 6, Bilious 4, Nervous 5; Amativeness 5, Philoprogenitiveness 5, Adhesiveness 6, Inhabitiveness 6, Concentrativeness 4, Combativeness 5, Destructiveness 6, Alimentiveness 6, Acquisitiveness 5, Secretiveness 7, Cautiousness 6, Approbateness 6, Self Esteem 6 to 7, Firmness 6, Conscientiousness 6, Hope 6, Marvellousness 4, Veneration 3, Benevolence 6, Constructiveness 5, Ideality 6, Sublimity 7, Imitation 5, Mirthfulness 7, Individuality 6, Form 6, Size 6, Weight 5, Colour 5, Order 6, Calculation 5, Locality 6, Eventuality 5, Time 4, Tune 4, Language 7, Causality 7, Comparison 5, Suavitiveness 5, an unusual faculty by which is perceived as if by intuition the character and motives of men from their physiognomy, conversation, &c., is suspicious and seldom deceived, naturally understands human nature 7."

The *Massachusetts Spy* of February 9, 1842, says: "Charles Dickens (Boz) the celebrated author with his lady, arrived in town on the evening of the 5th, and left for Hartford, via Springfield, on the morning of the 7th. While here, many of our inhabitants called on them at the mansion of Governor Davis, where they staid during their tarry in town." The same issue of the *Spy* mentions the fact that "Lorenzo N. Fowler has just finished a course of phrenological lectures in this town the latter part of which was well attended," adding, "We believe that many persons heretofore skeptical have become converts to the Science, under his ministrations." Ten years after, interest therein had greatly decreased, and twenty years later, had nearly ceased. Evidence of an early attention to the subject by some of our scholarly members appears in the following

extracts from Mr. Christopher C. Baldwin's Diary May 14, 1834: "I attended a meeting this evening at Bonney's public house, of gentlemen who wished to form a Phrenological Society. The following gentlemen were present: Dr. John Green, Dr. Benjamin F. Heywood, Dr. John S. Butler, Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, Dr. George Chandler, Stephen Salisbury, Anthony Chase, John Milton Earle, Hon. Joseph G. Kendall, Maturin L. Fisher, Benjamin F. Thomas, Daniel Waldo Lincoln, Frederick W. Paine and myself. Dr. Woodward was made president, Mr. Salisbury, vice-president; Mr. Thomas, secretary; and Mr. Paine, treasurer; and Dr. Green, Dr. Blood and myself, directors. We are, hereafter, to meet monthly, and the first meeting will be on the second Wednesday of June. Our object is to investigate the science of Phrenology and ascertain its nature and the foundation there may be for it in truth. Like all converts, we are full of fury and enthusiasm, and we may think ourselves fortunate if we escape being rank pagans." I find no further reference to the Society, an indication, at least, that interest therein was short-lived.

The third reference is suggested by the recent death of General William Tecumseh Sherman,—happily termed by a soldier member of our Council "The most interesting among the leaders of the war." It is to a manuscript which Mr. Haven thus acknowledges—with its companion—in his library report of October 21, 1872: "From Mrs. C. J. Bowen, of Cambridge, a cannon-ball thrown from Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, which lodged in the attic of the house of her mother, Mrs. Caroline H. Gilman of Charleston, South Carolina; also, an interesting autograph letter to her from General Sherman, relating to his own principles of action during the war." While there is evidence that this truly characteristic letter was hastily written, there are in it no erasures and but three slight interlineations. Its national interest twenty-six years after the close of the war,

will be a sufficient excuse for giving it a place in our Proceedings. A copy of the letter, the original of which is in a double-glazed frame in the Salisbury Annex, follows :—

HEAD QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

In the Field, near Marietta, Ga., *June 30, 1864.*

MRS. ANNIE GILMAN BOWEN,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Madam :

Your welcome letter of June 18, came to me here amid the sound of battle, and, as you say, little did I dream when I knew you playing as a school girl on Sullivan's Island beach, that I should control a vast army pointing like the swarm of Alaric towards the plains of the South. Why, oh why is this? If I know my own heart, it beats as warmly as ever towards those kind and generous families that greeted us with such warm hospitality in days long past but still present in memory; and to-day were Frank and Mrs. Porcher, or Eliza Gilman, or Mary Lamb, or Margaret Blake, the Barksdales, the Quashes, the Poyas, indeed, any and all of our cherished circle, their children, or even their children's children, to come to me as of old, the stern feelings of duty would melt, as snow before the genial sun, and I believe I would strip my own children that they might be sheltered; and yet they call me barbarian, vandal, a monster, and all the epithets that language can invent that are significant of malignity and hate. All I pretend to say, on Earth as in Heaven man must submit to some arbiter. He must not throw off his allegiance to his Government or his God without just reason and cause. The South had no cause, not even a pretext. Indeed by her unjustifiable course she has thrown away the proud history of the Past and laid open her fair country to the tread of devastating war. She bantered and bullied us to the conflict. Had we declined Battle, America would have sunk back coward and craven, meriting the contempt of all mankind. As a nation we were forced to accept Battle, and that once begun it has gone on till the war has assumed proportions at which even we in the hurly-burly sometimes stand aghast. I would not subjugate the South in the sense so offensively assumed, but I would make every citizen of the land obey the Common Law, submit to the same that we

do—no worse, no better—our equals and not our superiors. I know and you know that there were young men in our day, men no longer young but who control their fellows, who assumed to the Gentlemen of the South a superiority of courage, and boastingly defied us of Northern birth to arms. God only knows how reluctantly we accepted the issue, but once the issue joined, like in other ages, the Northern Races though slow to anger, once aroused are more terrible than the more inflammable of the South. Even yet my heart bleeds when I see the carnage of Battle, the desolation of homes, the bitter anguish of families, but the very moment the men of the South say that instead of appealing to War, they should have appealed to Reason, to our Congress, to our Courts, to Religion and to the experience of History, then will I say Peace, Peace. Go back to your points of error and resume your places as American citizens with all their proud heritages. Whether I shall live to see this period is problematical but you may, and may tell your mother and sisters that I never forgot one kind look or greeting, or ever wished to efface its remembrance, but in putting on the armor of war, I did it that our common country should not perish in infamy and dishonor. I am married—have a wife and six children living in Lancaster, Ohio—my career has been an eventful one, but I hope when the clouds of anger and passion are dispersed and Truth emerges bright and clear, you and all who knew me in early years will not blush that we were once close friends. Tell Eliza for me that I hope she may live to realize that the Doctrine of Secession is as monstrous in our Civil Code as disobedience was in the Divine Law. And should the Fortunes of War ever bring your mother or sisters, or any of our old clique under the shelter of my authority I do not believe they will have cause to regret it. Give my love to your children and the assurances of my respect to your honored husband.

Truly

W. T. SHERMAN,
Maj. Gen'l.

We may well consider the pressure under which this letter of the 30th, was written. Sherman's dear friend and law-partner, General Daniel McCook, was desperately

wounded—from the effects of which he afterward died—in an unsuccessful assault of the 27th, and the whole month had been one of great anxiety. In point of fact, according to the chapter on the Atlanta campaign in Sherman's memoirs: "The losses from June 1st to July 3d (7500) were all substantially sustained about Kenesaw and Marietta and it was really a continuous battle lasting from the 10th day of June till the 3d of July."

Dr. Samuel F. Haven—my predecessor in office—after twenty-five years in your service, said: "During this time the growth of the Society's Collections, if gradual, has been constant. There have been periods of special abundance, but none of absolute famine, and none in which the indications of progress have been otherwise than favorable. * * Economy has indeed been a necessity as well as a principle of the Society in the management of its finances. Regarding its vested funds as the only reliable guaranty of permanent and active vitality, its literary wealth has been left dependent upon the free contributions of its members, and the interest in its objects which it could create in the community at large. This has been a safe and thrifty, if not a brilliant policy; and, moreover, is one which public institutions have not always the self-denial or prudence to adopt. But the Society has deemed it wise to be liberal, or even lavish, in the use of its literary and historical wealth. Acting upon the rule of taking a cordial interest in every enquiry for information, it has laid open its stores freely to every applicant, and when these have proved insufficient has endeavored to point out other and more productive channels of research. The opportunity of appreciating the utility of our Collections thus afforded to all classes of people, has been a fruitful source of increase. Most persons are disposed to aid in extending those advantages whose practical convenience they have experienced, especially when enabled to perceive how this could be done with little cash or

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trouble to themselves." These words are, almost without exception, as fitting to-day as when uttered in 1862. In making them my own, I will only add an expression of my deep and abiding gratitude for the privilege of service under the master who wrote them.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Gibers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, HENRY, Esq., Washington, D. C.—His "History of the United States of America during the Second Administration of James Madison." 3 vols. 8vo.
- ALDRICH, HON. P. EMORY, Worcester.—The English "Antiquary," in continuation; one hundred and twenty pamphlets; and two files of newspapers.
- BARTON, MR. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Eighteen pamphlets; "St. Andrew's Cross"; and "St. John's Echo," in continuation.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his brochures.
- BROCK, MR. ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Slaughter's "History of St. George's Parish in the County of Spotsylvania and Diocese of Virginia," edited by Mr. Brock.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—His "Chandler Family," first edition with manuscript additions; four bound volumes and other manuscript material relating to the Chandler, Greene, Perrin and other families; two books; and eight pamphlets.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., *Treasurer*, Worcester.—The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Financial Reports of the Worcester Memorial Hospital; and two newspapers.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Esq., Cambridge.—His "Early College Buildings at Cambridge"; and one book.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Five books; one hundred pamphlets; and three heliotypes.
- DEXTER, PROF. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Numbers of the Connecticut Almanac for 1891, containing Prof. Dexter's "Estimates of population in the American Colonies"; and Williams's "Our Dictionaries and other English Language Topics."
- DEXTER, REV. HENRY M., D.D., New Bedford, Mass.—His "English Exiles in Amsterdam, 1597-1625."
- EDES, MR. HENRY H., Charlestown.—"Roll of Resident Members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1844-1890."
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His Fifteenth Annual Report as President of Johns Hopkins University.
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—His "New York of the Future: a Municipal Consolidation Inquiry"; and one newspaper.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Esq., Worcester.—Two biographical sketches of Hon. George Bancroft.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Two of his historical brochures; four books; one hundred and eight pamphlets; and one hundred and ninety-eight War of the Rebellion envelopes.

- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—Catalogue of Brown University, 1890-1891.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—Savannah School Report of 1890.
- HILL, Mr. HAMILTON ANDREWS, Boston.—His "History of the Old South Church, Boston, 1669-1884," two vols. 8vo; twenty-seven of his other publications; and five selected pamphlets.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His Speech on the Election Bill; thirty-four books; three hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; ten files of newspapers; three manuscripts; and two photographs.
- KELLER, OTTO, Ph.D., Stuttgart, Germany.—A cabinet photograph of himself.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Two books; and one hundred and four pamphlets.
- MOORE, GEORGE H., LL.D., New York.—His Circular relating to the Origin of the name "Puritan."
- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., Lancaster.—The "Birth, Marriage and Death Register of Lancaster, Mass., 1643-1850."
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—The "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Two books; three hundred and thirty-six pamphlets; one hundred and thirty-four card photographs; and four files of newspapers.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Mendon, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- PERRY, Rt. Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His "Christian Character of George Washington"; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—A complete file of "The Owl," and numbers to complete our file of "The Dial."
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—Three books; four hundred and forty-three pamphlets; eight files of periodicals, in continuation; and a fire fender.
- SMITH, Mr. CHARLES C., Boston.—Two of his brochures.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A., Esq., Worcester.—Dyce's edition of the Works of Beaumont and Fletcher. 4 vols., 8vo. London, 1843-46; and Bancroft's translation of Heeren's "Ancient Greece." 8vo., Boston, 1842.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, Ohio.—Eight Ohio pamphlets.
- TOPPAN, Mr. ROBERT N., Cambridge.—Medal struck for the marriage of Napoleon III.
- WALKER, Gen. FRANCIS A., *President*, Boston.—The "Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology," and his Report of 1891.
- WASHBURN, Hon. JOHN D., Worcester.—"Zurich Und das Schweizerische Landes Museum."
- WEEDEN, Mr. WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—His "Morality of Prohibitory Liquor Laws"; and his "Social Law of Labor."
- WHEATLAND, HENRY, M.D., Salem.—The "Peabody Press," in continuation.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., *Librarian*, Cambridge.—His "Thirteenth Report on the Library of Harvard University."

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, 1890.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ALLEN, Mr. CHARLES A., *City Engineer*, Worcester.—His Annual Report, 1890.

AMES, Mr. JOHN G., Washington, D. C.—His Report regarding the receipt, distribution and sale of United States Public Documents.

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BALDWIN, Prof. SIMEON E., New Haven, Conn.—His "Brief Memorial of Phillip Moret."

BARTON, Mr. FRANCIS A., San Francisco, Cal.—"California in 1890."

BLANCHARD AND COMPANY, Messrs. FRANK S., Worcester.—Their "Practical Mechanic and Electrician," as issued.

BOOTH, ALFRED, M.D., Springfield.—His article on the "Boston Massacre, including a letter showing that Crispus Attucks was known by the name of Jackson."

BOSARI, Signor FERDINANDO, Naples, Italy.—Three of his brochures.

BOWEN, CLARENCE W., Ph.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Dr. John E. Bowen's "Conflict of the East and West in Egypt"; and a memorial of Dr. Bowen.

BOWES, Mr. JAMES L., Liverpool, Eng.—His "Handbook to Bowes's Museum of Japanese Art Work."

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BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Six pamphlets; and the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

BUTLER, NICHOLAS M., Ph.D., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of the "Educational Review."

BYINGTON, Rev. EZRA H., D.D., Boston.—The "Centennial Celebration of the First Congregational Church of Christ, Hinesborough, Vt., Sept. 10, 1890," containing his historical address.

CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—Six books; four bronze medals; and twenty-two pamphlets.

CARTER, JAMES C., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Ideal and Actual in the Law."

CEULENEER, M. AD., DE, Brussels, Belgium.—His "Type d'Indien du Nouveau Monde représenté sur un bronze Antique du Louvre."

CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER F., M.D., Worcester.—Nine of his brochures relating to the language, customs, beliefs, etc., of the Indians.

CHEEVER, Rev. HENRY T., Worcester.—The "Hawaiian Gazette," in continuation.

CHASE, GEORGE B., Esq., Boston.—His "Memoir of George Tyler Bigelow."

- CHITTENDEN, Mr. J. BRACE, Cambridge.—“Report of the First Reunion of the Class of '88 Worcester Polytechnic Institute.”
- CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, Ohio.—Shepherd's “Antiquities of the State of Ohio.”
- CLARKSON, Mr. SAMUEL, Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Memoirs of Matthew Clarkson, and of his brother Gerardus Clarkson.”
- COLE, Mr. THOMAS L., Portland, Oregon.—“Trinity Parish,” as issued.
- CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—“Monthly Calendar of the Church of the Sacred Heart,” as issued.
- COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His Gazette, as issued.
- CULIN, Mr. STEWART, Philadelphia, Pa.—His “I Hing, or Patriotic Rising.”
- CURRIER, Mr. FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His “History of the Post-office, Fitchburg, Mass.”
- CYR, Rev. NARCISSE, Boston.—Nineteen books; ten pamphlets; and “The Inquirer,” 1888-91.
- DAVIS, WALTER A., Esq., *City Clerk*, Fitchburg.—The City Document for 1890.
- DAY, Rev. JOHN W., Hingham.—One pamphlet.
- DEANE, Mrs. CHARLES, Cambridge.—Alexander Brown's “Genesis of the United States.” 2 vols., 8vo. Cambridge, 1891.
- DEXTER, Rev. MORTON, Boston.—Notices of the late Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D.
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, Messrs., New York.—Their “New Publications,” as issued.
- DOE AND COMPANY, Messrs. CHARLES H., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- DREW, ALLIS AND COMPANY, Messrs., Worcester.—Fifty-eight American Directories.
- EARLE, PLINY, M.D., Northampton.—Two periodicals, in continuation; and eighteen pamphlets.
- ELIOT, Mr. CHARLES, *Secretary*.—Circulars relating to “The Preservation of Beautiful and Historical Places.”
- FISKE, Mr. EDWARD R., Worcester.—His “Library Record,” as issued.
- FLETCHER, Mr. WILLIAM I., Amherst.—One pamphlet.
- FOLSOM, Capt. ALBERT A., Boston.—Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 1889-90.
- FUNK AND WAGNALLS, Messrs., New York.—Their “Voice,” as issued.
- GALBRAITH, Rev. JOHN, Worcester.—The “Christian Advocate” 1877-90; and “Our Youth,” 1885-88.
- GALE, Lieut. GEORGE H. G., U. S. A.—Twenty “Official Army and United States Military Academy Registers.”
- GALE, Mr. GEORGE W., Worcester.—Cannon-ball from the battlefield of Contreras, Mexico; and thirty-eight reports of Overseers of the Poor.
- GARRISON, Mr. WENDELL P., Orange, N. J.—His “Preludes of Harper's Ferry”; a photograph of the Ostensorium presented in 1686 to the Green Bay Mission.

- GOODRICH, Mr. W. B., Brattleboro, Vt.—Numbers of his "Literature and Art."
- GOODWIN, Mr. JAMES J., Hartford, Conn.—His "Goodwins of Hartford, Connecticut."
- GREEN, Mrs. MELTIAH B., Worcester.—Ninety-seven books; three hundred and twenty-five numbers of magazines; and sixteen unbound volumes of "The Churchman."
- GRIFFIS, Rev. WILLIAM E., D.D., Boston.—His "Japanese Fairy World."
- HAKES, Miss GERTRUDE, Worcester.—"The Hakes Family."
- HALL, Mr. A. WILFORD, New York.—His "Microcosm," as issued.
- HARRINGTON, Hon. FRANCIS A., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His "Second Inaugural Address."
- HASSAM, JOHN T., Esq., Boston.—Suffolk Deeds, Volume V.
- HAVEN, Mrs. ELIZA A., Portsmouth, N. H.—One pamphlet.
- HAWES, Miss ZILLA, Holden.—Three books; and two newspapers.
- HILL, Mrs. ALONZO, Worcester.—Thirty-five books; and three pamphlets.
- HOLT, Messrs. HENRY AND COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of the "Educational Review."
- HORSFORD, Prof. EBEN N., Cambridge.—Two of his brochures.
- HORTON AND SON, Messrs. NATHANIEL, Salem.—Their Gazette, as issued.
- JILLSON, Hon. CLARK, Worcester.—"Reunion of the Sons and Daughters of Wilmington, Vt.," containing Remarks by Judge Jillson.
- JOHNSON, Mr. THEOPHILUS B., Worcester.—One newspaper.
- JONES, Rev. HENRY L., Wilkes Barre, Pa.—Hotchkiss's "County Clergy of Pennsylvania"; and the "Parish Guest," as issued.
- KEITH, Hon. ZIBA C., Campello.—His "Genealogy of the descendants of Benjamin Keith."
- KELLOGG, J. H., M.D., Battle Creek, Mich.—His "Good Health," as issued.
- KELLOGG AND STRATTON, Messrs., Fitchburg.—Their Sentinel, as issued.
- KIMBALL, Mr. JOHN E., Oxford.—The Town Report of Oxford, 1890-91.
- KIMPTON, Mr. HENRY, London, England.—His "International Book Finder," as issued.
- KNOWLTON, Miss HELEN M., Boston.—"Taverner's" Paper on Thomas Walcutt.
- KYES AND WOODBURY, Messrs., Worcester.—One book; one hundred and fifty-seven pamphlets; and their monthly calendar, as issued.
- LANSING, Rev. ISAAC J., Worcester.—His "Pulpit Personalities Rebuked."
- LAWTON, Mrs. CHRISTOPHER P., Worcester.—Worcester Directory for 1889.
- LEWIS, Prof. THEODORE H., St. Paul, Minn.—Five of his Archaeological brochures.
- LIBBIE, Messrs. CHARLES F. AND COMPANY, Boston.—One book.
- LIPPINCOTT, Messrs. J. B. AND COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Their "Bulletin of New Publications," as issued.
- LOGAN, Mr. DAVID, Leicester.—Three pamphlets; and a New Granada silver coin.

- MCALPHER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—"Souvenir Volume of the Centennial Celebration and Catholic Congress, 1789-1889."
- MARBLE, ALBERT P., Ph.D., Worcester.—His "Studies in Literature."
- MAY, Rev. SAMUEL, *Secretary*, Leicester.—"Songs and Poems of the Class of 1829," Part III., 1882-1889, Harvard University; and Leicester Town Library Report, 1891.
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- MOODY, Miss M. ELIZABETH, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Five pamphlets.
- MORENO, Señor FRANCISCO P., La Plata, B. A.—His "Rapide Coup d'Œil Sur Sa Fondation et Son Développement du Musée de La Plata."
- MOSELEY'S SONS, Mr. DAVID B., Hartford, Conn.—Their "Religious Herald," as issued.
- OPDYKE, Mr. CHARLES M., New York.—"A leaf of additional facts to the Op Dyck Genealogy."
- PEABODY, CHARLES A., M.D., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—Report of the City Hospital of Worcester for 1890.
- PHILLIPS, Mr. CALVIN T., Hanover.—His reprint of Rev. Gad Hitchcock's Artillery Election Sermon of May 25, 1774.
- PHILLIPS, Rev. GEORGE W., Rutland, Vt.—Wild's "Hundred Years of Congregationalism in the Champlain Valley."
- PUTNAM'S SONS, GEORGE P., New York.—Their "Notes on New Books," as issued.
- REINWALD, M. C., Paris, France.—His Bulletin, as issued.
- RICH, Mr. MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—The "Portland Board of Trade Journal," as issued.
- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Five files of Magazines, in continuation; and seven pamphlets.
- ROE, Mr. ALFRED S., Worcester.—His Index to vol. I. of "Light"; ten numbers to complete our file; and one pamphlet.
- SANBORN, Mrs. ELLEN H., Cincinnati, Ohio.—"The Round Table," as issued.
- SCOTT, Mr. J. WINFIELD, *Editor*, Boston.—His "Living Issues," as issued.
- SCRIPTURE, Mr. E. W., Worcester.—Two of his brochures.
- SLAFTER, Rev. EDMUND F., D.D., Boston.—His "Discovery of America by the Northmen, 985-1015."
- SLEEPER, Rev. WILLIAM T., Worcester.—The "Head-Light," as issued.
- SMILEY, Mr. C. W., Washington, D. C.—His "American Monthly Microscopical Journal," as issued.
- STAPLES, Mr. SAMUEL E., Worcester.—Various poems from his pen; and newspapers in numbers.
- STEINER, HOB. LEWIS H., *Librarian*, Baltimore, Md.—His Fifth Annual Report on the Enoch Pratt Free Library.
- STEVENS, CHARLES E., Esq., Worcester.—His "Church and Parish: a Club essay."
- SWAN, Mr. ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—The first three reports on the "Custody and Condition of Public Records of Parishes, Towns and Counties in Massachusetts."

- TENNEY, Mrs. HARRIET A., Lansing, Mich.—A sketch of her life.
- THOMPSON, Mr. PETER G., Cincinnati, Ohio.—One pamphlet.
- TRUMBLE, Mr. ALFRED, New York.—His "Collector," as issued.
- TURNER, Mr. JOHN H., Ayer.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.
- TYLER, Rev. ALBERT, Oxford.—One pamphlet.
- VERDUZCO, Señor IGNACIO OJEDA, Morelia, Mexico.—His "Gazeta Oficial," as issued.
- VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—The Year-Book and Register of the Parish of All Saints Church for the year 1890-91; and "The Parish," as issued.
- WAITES, Mr. ALFRED, Worcester.—His "Baconian Facts, an Epilogue to the Farce of Bacon vs. Shakespeare."
- WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- WALL, Mr. CALEB A., Worcester.—His "Eastern Worcester."
- WEBB, Dr. WILLIAM S., *President*, New York.—Half's "Year-Book of the Societies composed of the Descendants of the Men of the Revolution."
- WESBY AND SONS, Messrs. JOSEPH S., Worcester.—Ten books; and two hundred and fifty-seven pamphlets.
- WHITMORE, Mr. WILLIAM H., Boston.—His "Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony, from 1630 to 1686."
- WHITING, WILLIAM, Esq., Holyoke.—Frink's "Address Commemorative of Richard H. Mather, June 15th, 1890."
- WILKINSON, Mr. A. T., Milford.—A Persian copper coin of the year 1289.
- WILLARD, Mr. FRANKLIN B., West Boylston.—A Specimen of Pennsylvania Continental Currency.
- WILLIAMS, Col. GEORGE W., Worcester.—Three of his brochures upon the Congo State and Country.
- WILSTOCH, Mr. JOHN A., New York.—His "Battle Forest," a poem.
- WOOD, Mr. AMASA, Webster.—Manuscript Notes to his "Brief History of the Descendants of Thomas Wood."
- WOODWARD, PATRICK H., *Secretary*, Hartford, Conn.—"Report of the Hartford Board of Trade, January 13, 1891."
- WRIGHT, Hon. ISAAC H., New York.—His "Shoe and Leather Reporter," as issued; and Annual for 1891.

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- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION.—Two of their Reports.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Baptist Missionary Magazine, as issued.
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- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

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- AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MICROSCOPISTS.—General Index to their Proceedings.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their publications, as issued.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Its Catalogue for 1890-91.
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- BOOKMART PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Bookmart," as issued.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their "Statements of Mortality," as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—The Twenty-first and Twenty-second Reports of the Record Commissioners.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—Its College Catalogue, 1890-91.
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- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
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- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Its University publications, as issued.
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- LANCASTER TOWN LIBRARY.—Its Twenty-eighth Annual Report.
- LIBRARY BUREAU, Boston.—One pamphlet.
- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Its Bulletin, as issued.
- LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Annual Report for 1890.
- MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their "Weekly Returns of Mortality"; and Annual Report for 1890.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Sixteen State documents; and one Proclamation.
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- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, Volume IV., 6th Series.
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- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
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- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—Their "Nation," as issued.
- NEW YORK, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF.—Its Centennial History, 1785-1885.
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- ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
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- PERKINS INSTITUTION AND MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.—Its Fifty-ninth Annual Report.
- PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY.—Its Catalogue for 1890-91.
- POET LORE COMPANY.—Their "Poet-Lore," for November, 1890.
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- PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.—Its Fifty-fifth Annual Report.
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- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- ROCHESTER ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Their Proceedings, Vol. I, No. 1.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Their publications, as issued.
- RUSSIAN AMERICAN NATIONAL LEAGUE.—Their "Free Russia," as issued.
- ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Their Forty-fifth Annual Report.
- SALEM PRESS PUBLISHING AND PRINTING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Historical and Genealogical Register."
- SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Second Annual Report.
- SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Report for 1890.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Its publications, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.—Their publications, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Their publications, as issued.
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WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-three files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY.—Their Sixteenth Annual Report.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Thirty-six books; two hundred and forty-two pamphlets; and eighty-five files of newspapers, in continuation.

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WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their Proceedings for 1890.

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YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—Their "Young Men's Work," as issued.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

GEORGE BANCROFT, the historian of the United States, was chosen a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1838. With that of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, elected to membership at the same date, his name has for several years stood at the head of our list of living members. From 1877 to 1880, Mr. Bancroft was Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, and, since 1880, has been a Vice-President of the Society. At the time of his death, he was our First Vice-President. It seems fitting that the death of Mr. Bancroft should be commemorated in our Proceedings by a somewhat extended notice.

George Bancroft was a son of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D. (*b.* 1755, *d.* 1839), the first pastor of the Second Parish in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts, a position held by the latter until he died, and for a period of more than fifty years. George Bancroft's mother was Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft (*b.* 1765, *d.* 1839), a daughter of the last Judge John Chandler, of Worcester. Aaron Bancroft was a man of vigorous mind, excellent scholarship and earnest spirit. He was one of the six persons who joined in a petition for the Act of Incorporation of this Society and became one of its earliest members. He was a Councillor of the Society from the date of its organization in 1812 to 1816, a Vice-President from 1816 to 1831, and a member of its Publication Committee from 1815 to 1831. In 1807 he published a life of Washington, which had a large circulation and was reprinted in England.

George Bancroft was born in Worcester, October 3, 1800, in a house still standing on Salisbury street, which

was the second residence of his parents in Worcester. The house has been occupied for many years by Mr. John B. Pratt.

Very little, naturally, is to be said about Bancroft's life in Worcester as he left the town to go to Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., when in his eleventh year and never returned there to live. It may not be beneath the dignity of this occasion, however, to repeat an anecdote which Mr. Bancroft, with modest self-depreciation, told to Hon. C. K. Tuckerman during a call which that gentleman made upon him towards the close of October, 1889. Mr. Tuckerman writes: "Taking it for granted that" Mr. Bancroft "might not after the lapse of so many years distinctly recall my identity, I began by reminding him as to who I was and when we had last met. He interrupted me with a vigorous * * * exclamation, that he not only remembered me perfectly but that he rather thought he knew more of my family and their antecedents than I did myself. Thereupon he went back to the days of his boyhood in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts, and informed me that a certain cousin of mine, now some years deceased—who then dwelt there—had been his schoolmate and playmate. He, Mr. Bancroft, had greatly stood in awe of his schoolmate's mother, my aunt, who was a lady of great dignity, and most precise in her manners and ways of life. 'I was a wild boy,' continued Bancroft, 'and your aunt did not like me. She was always fearful that I would get her son into bad ways, and still more alarmed lest I should some day be the cause of his being brought home dead. There was a river, or piece of water, near Worcester, where I used to beguile young Salisbury, and having constructed a rough sort of raft he and I would pass a good deal of our playtime in aquatic amusements, not by any means unattended with danger. Madam's remonstrances were all in vain, and she was more and more confirmed in the opinion that I was a "wild, bad boy." However, nothing serious, beyond an occasional

wetting, ever occurred, yet I never rose in her estimation, and a "wild boy" I continued to be up to manhood.' "X

I presume that it is unnecessary to say that the companion to whom Mr. Bancroft refers is our late President, the father of the gentleman who now presides over this Society.

Young Bancroft was regarded as a promising scholar when he went to the academy at Exeter, where he was a beneficiary pupil. He remained there, without going home to spend his vacations, until he entered Harvard College in 1813. He graduated from the latter institution, with the rank of second in his class, in 1817, when not yet seventeen years old. The late Stephen Salisbury was one of his classmates. Mr. Bancroft, at the time of his death, had been for some time the oldest living graduate of Harvard College.

As a promising scholar, Bancroft was sent abroad to study in 1818. It is said to have been a purpose of the gentlemen who provided the means to enable him to go to Europe, to give him such an education that he would be prepared to occupy the chair of a professor in Harvard College when it might become necessary to seek somebody to fill one. Mr. Bancroft entered the University of Göttingen and received from that institution the degree of Ph.D. at the remarkably early age of less than twenty years. While at Göttingen, he studied German literature under Benecke; French and Italian literature under Artaud and Bunsen; Arabic, Hebrew and Scripture interpretation under Eichhorn; Natural History under Blumenbach; the antiquities and literature of Greece and Rome, and Greek philosophy under Dissen, an enthusiastic admirer of Plato; and history under Planck and Heeren. Soon after receiving his degree at Göttingen, Mr. Bancroft went to Berlin where he was kindly received by Wilhelm von Humboldt, Varnhagen von Ense, Lappenberg and other distinguished scholars. He was a constant visitor at the house of

¹ Magazine of American History, March, 1891, page 230.

Schleiermacher, and was also very kindly received by Savigny, chief of the law department of the university and one of the ablest jurists of Germany. At Berlin, Bancroft attended the lectures of Wolff, Schleiermacher and Hegel. Passing on to Heidelberg in the spring of 1821, Mr. Bancroft spent several hours a day there studying with the historian Schlosser.

Before returning to America, he travelled on the continent of Europe, making the acquaintance of Manzoni at Milan, of Niebuhr at Rome, and of Benjamin Constant, Cousin, Alexander von Humboldt, and Lafayette at Paris. During his stay in Rome, he formed intimate relations with Chevalier Bunsen. These continued until the death of the latter.¹ While a student at Göttingen, Bancroft made the acquaintance of Goethe at Jena, and subsequently met him at Weimar. In May, 1822, he met Byron at Leghorn, and the next day, by invitation, visited him at Monte Nero, the residence of the poet at that time.

Mr. Bancroft must have been very attractive as a young man to have secured the attentions which were shown to him by distinguished scholars and literary men in Europe. Dr. Cogswell, in a letter to Mrs. Prescott, of Boston, dated August 28, 1819, in speaking of his sorrow at parting with him, writes, "He is a most interesting youth and is to make one of our great men."

Mr. Bancroft returned to the United States in 1822. He had prepared himself to enter the Christian ministry, and soon after coming home actually preached in his father's pulpit. The tradition in Worcester is that his manner on that occasion was regarded as somewhat artificial and as so different from that which was usual at the time in the pulpit as to prevent religious services as conducted by him from being wholly acceptable either to his father or his father's

¹ July 20, 1849, Bunsen writes: "For refreshment after this long day's work, I visited, at six o'clock, my truly esteemed colleague, Bancroft."—*Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 150.

congregation. The sermon given in Worcester is said to have been an essay on love.

In 1822, Mr. Bancroft became tutor of Greek in Harvard College, but withdrew from that position in 1823. Towards the close of the latter year, he joined Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell in establishing a private school for boys, at Round Hill, Northampton. That school was meant to embody ideas which had been awakened by observation of institutions abroad. The aim of its projectors was to found a school in which instruction should be thorough and united with an abundance of exercise and recreation. It was intended, also, to maintain intimate relations between teachers and pupils.¹ The school was for a time very successful. An excellent corps of teachers gave instruction and the boys were healthy and happy. The enterprise proved financially unsuccessful in a few years, however.² Mr. Bancroft withdrew from the school in 1830. Dr. Cogswell continued the undertaking for two years longer and then abandoned it with impaired health and a loss in money of \$20,000.

Before going to Round Hill, Mr. Bancroft published in Cambridge, in September, 1823, a small volume of poems. These were marked by smoothness of versification and felicity of expression rather than by the higher qualities of poetry, and it is understood that later in life the author did what he could to withdraw the volume containing them from circulation. Our venerable and accomplished associate,

¹ "The school may be described as aiming, above all, to make *gentlemen*."
* * "There was great attention paid to modern languages in the school, and of course, under Beck and Bode, * * there was no neglect of the classics. Indeed, there was nothing connected with the culture of the mind, or the care and development of the body, or the elevation of the character, that was not contemplated by the founders of the Round Hill School" * * * "The scheme of the school was too comprehensive to be thorough in the elementary training."—*Harvard Register*, Vol. III., pp. 3-5.

² For an account of the School at Round Hill, see *Memoir of Joseph G. Cogswell*, by Miss Anna E. Ticknor (privately printed); "A Sheaf of Papers," by Thomas G. Appleton; *The Round Hill School*, by Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., New York, in the *Harvard Register*, Vol. III. (1881), p. 3; and *Recollections of Round Hill School*, by George E. Ellis, in the *Educational Review*, April, 1891.

Rev. Dr. Ellis, was a pupil of Mr. Bancroft at Round Hill, and remembers his teacher as a "somewhat dreamy and absent-minded scholar" and as showing the impulsiveness and effusiveness of manner which he retained throughout his life. He also recalls the fact that he read the manuscript while Mr. Bancroft corrected proof of his translation, published in 1824, of Heeren's *Politics of Ancient Greece*. Mr. Bancroft published in 1825, Jacobs's Latin Reader. Several editions of that work appeared. He early became a contributor to the *North American Review*, his first article in that periodical having come out in the number bearing the date of October, 1823. From that time on, for many years, he wrote papers for that *Review*, on literary, historical and financial subjects.

Mr. Bancroft, as early as 1818, while a student at Göttingen, determined to devote himself to historical pursuits. He began his great work on the history of the United States, at Northampton, and while there issued the first volume. The other nine volumes appeared at intervals until the publication of volume 10, in 1874. In 1876, the work was revised and issued as a centenary edition (6 vols., Boston). Volumes 11 and 12 were published first under the title of "History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States" (New York, 1882). The last revised edition of the whole work appeared in six volumes (New York) in 1883-5. A variety of essays were written by Mr. Bancroft. Some of these were collected in a volume of *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* in 1855.

During most of his life, Mr. Bancroft belonged to the Democratic party. In 1830, he was elected to the legislature of Massachusetts but declined to take his seat, and the next year, although it was certain that he could be elected, declined a nomination to the Senate.

In 1835, Mr. Bancroft moved to Springfield. While living there, he worked on his history and took part in political movements. In 1836, he was the Democratic

candidate for Congress from the Springfield district, but was defeated at the polls. In 1838, he was appointed by President Van Buren, Collector of the Port of Boston, and remained in that position until 1841. The Democratic party in Massachusetts was small during Van Buren's administration, but it had among its adherents such well-known persons as Orestes A. Brownson, "then in the gall of radicalism and the bitterness of general dissatisfaction," Robert Rantoul, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Mr. Bancroft. Brownson, Rantoul and Bancroft were doctrinaires. A Whig contemporary, in writing of the last-named, says:

"I do not think that he much cared to deliver stump speeches; but he had no choice. Every Democratic officeholder who could speak and would not speak, was made to speak. Mr. Hawthorne, who could no more speak than jump over a wide river, was of course excused. Mr. Bancroft brought the rhetoric of his history to the platform. He was ornate, gilded and occasionally flaming. Whatever he might be discussing,—and people did not discuss much save the sub-treasury in those times,—he seldom deigned to descend from his stilts. He had a favorite way of beginning these election harangues. He would look with an expression of astonishment at the audience, and exclaim with the gesture of Hamlet at the first sight of the ghost, 'This vast assemblage might well appall me!' This impressed those who had never heard it more than twice before, and it had the further effect of giving the audience aforesaid a good conceit of its own proportions. I have said that Mr. Bancroft could never get off his stilts, but occasionally he relaxed a little his stately dignity. He was speaking one night of the great Whig procession in Boston in 1840. It undoubtedly did rain while the Whig army was marching to Bunker Hill, and Mr. Bancroft improved the circumstance with a surprising mixture of attitudinousness and familiarity. 'We appeal to Heaven,' he said, 'was written upon the impious banner. Heaven heard the appeal and sent down upon the throng the *nastiest* shower of the season!' Mr. Bancroft's audience could understand this better than his long dissertations upon the progress of the Democratic principle during the Eighteenth century in Europe

and America; and as he was not averse to applause, he went back to his Custom House contented, as he had good reason to be."¹

Mr. Bancroft performed the duties of Collector satisfactorily. In 1844, he was Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, but although polling an unusually large vote was defeated by George N. Briggs.

In 1845, Mr. Bancroft became Secretary of the Navy under President Polk. Our venerable associate, Rev. Dr. Peabody, informs me that the late Robert Rantoul told him that Mr. Polk first appointed Bancroft Attorney-General, supposing him to be a lawyer. He had to tell the President that he had been educated for the Church and not for the bar, whereupon he received the appointment of Secretary of the Navy.

Our associate, Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, has kindly put into my hands a record in manuscript of a conversation which he had with Mr. Bancroft, January 14, 1888. An extract will show that Mr. Bancroft believed that he had much to do in securing the nomination of Polk for the presidency. Dr. Hale writes: "He," Mr. Bancroft, "showed me the various details in the Democratic convention. The first day, Van Buren led a little in the ballot. The Massachusetts delegation voted for him; but gradually Van Buren lost and Cass gained. Still it was perfectly clear that Cass could not carry the State of New York," owing to Van Buren's opposition. "At the end of the day, Mr. Bancroft said this privately to the New York delegation. They said it was so,—that the whole thing would be lost before the people if Cass were to be nominated. Mr. Bancroft then went around and made arrangements with the different delegations which resulted in the unanimous nomination of Polk. He prided himself very much on this. He said Polk had by far the greatest executive capacity of any man he had ever known. He showed me

¹ Congdon, Charles T. *Reminiscences of a Journalist*, p. 63.

in typewriter, Polk's diary of the four years of his presidency. He made entries every day."

I make another interesting extract from Dr. Hale's record. Mr. Bancroft "said himself that he always hated slavery, that when he was nominated as the candidate for Secretary of the Navy, Senator Archer wrote to ask if he were an anti-slavery man, and he said he was;—that if he were to go through the Senate he would go erect, and not on his knees. He said that in the discussion, he was consistent in his view that he was a man who disliked slavery, but was honest in his dislike of it."

While Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Bancroft's administration of affairs was marked by rigid economy. It was rendered memorable by the establishment, mainly through his efforts, of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Mr. Bancroft gave the order to the commander of our squadron off California to take possession of that State in the event of war between the United States and Mexico. The order was executed while he was still Secretary. While acting for a month as Secretary of War, Mr. Bancroft gave the order to General Taylor to march into Texas. In September, 1846, he was transferred from the Cabinet of Mr. Polk to the position of Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain. While in London, he negotiated a postal treaty between England and the United States which was duly ratified by both governments. Of his social position in England, our distinguished associate, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, writes, in speaking of a visit of his own to that country, "Many letters from Webster and Everett had given me access to all that was highest and best in the London life of that period, but I met him" (Bancroft) "everywhere, and witnessed the high estimation in which he was held by literary men like Rogers and Hallam and Alison and Milman and Lord Mahon, and by statesmen like Peel, Palmerston and Russell."¹

¹ Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (meeting held February 12, 1891), p. 302.

Mr. Bancroft availed himself during his stay abroad of the opportunity afforded him to add largely to his collection of manuscripts, by making liberal extracts from the public archives of both England and France, which were freely thrown open to him for that purpose, as were also the private collections of many persons. The fruits of such labors are visible in his library in two hundred handsomely bound folio and quarto volumes of manuscripts. Upon his return to the United States in 1849, Mr. Bancroft took up his residence in New York, thus severing his connection for the rest of his life with his native State of Massachusetts.¹ Dr. Ellis, in an address before the Massachusetts Historical Society made in Boston after Mr. Bancroft's death, says: "The elders here will remember the social and professional alienations and the political animosities which led him to change his residence to New York."²

In considering the severe strictures passed upon Mr. Bancroft during the years of active political life of which we have spoken, it is but fair to presume that a large portion of them at least were merely the expression of strong political feeling on the part of opponents, and of the impatience which is often shown by persons of social position and wealth with views such as those put forth by Mr. Bancroft and his associates in the earlier portion of his political life. One thing is certain, namely, that using the term democrat in a large and not a party sense, Mr. Bancroft was a hearty democrat. The fact that he really believed in the wisdom of the people as opposed to classes was one of his leading qualifications for writing sympathetically the history of the popular movement which led to the foundation of the United States, and which is now at the bottom of the administration of its affairs.

After his return from Great Britain, Mr. Bancroft spent most of his time for many years in working on his history

¹ He died while a resident of the State of Rhode Island.

² Proceedings (February 12, 1891), p. 298.

of the United States. During the Civil War, he was a warm supporter of the cause of the Union and acted with the Republican party. In February, 1866, he was selected by Congress to pronounce a eulogy on President Lincoln. In 1867, he was appointed Minister to Prussia, being afterwards successively accredited to the North-German confederation and the German Empire. While in Berlin, he rendered valuable service in securing for Germans who had become naturalized citizens of the United States a recognition of their right to change their allegiance from their own country to that of their adoption. Indirectly the action obtained by Mr. Bancroft from Prussia and the other German States led to similar action on the part of Great Britain respecting British subjects who had become naturalized citizens of this country. Mr. Bancroft, while in Germany, also rendered very powerful aid in seconding the efforts of our government in the negotiations with Great Britain which ended successfully in the establishment of our position regarding the Northwestern boundary of the United States, which had been defined while he was a member of Mr. Polk's cabinet. Mr. Bancroft's mission to the German Empire ended at his own request in 1874. At that date, he returned home, and has since resided in Washington in winter and in Newport, R. I., in summer.

A few years ago, Mr. Bancroft printed a pamphlet which contained a review and searching criticism of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the celebrated legal-tender case. Still more recently, he published a life of Martin Van Buren, which had been prepared during the life of the subject of the biography, but kept in manuscript. The work is laudatory rather than critical, and has been regarded in the light of a campaign document instead of a serious biography. For a list of the minor works of Mr. Bancroft reference is made to the sketch of his life by the late S. Austin Allibone, in Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

Mr. Bancroft's health has evidently been failing for several years. He has enjoyed what Mr. Higginson has happily termed an "inexhaustible old age." In May, 1882, when still very vigorous, he wrote to Mr. Allibone "I was trained to look upon life here as a season for labor. Being more than fourscore years old I know the time for my release will soon come. Conscious of being near the shore of eternity, I await without impatience and without dread the beckoning of the hand which will summon me to rest."¹

Four years after writing that letter, Mr. Bancroft presided at the meetings of the American Historical Association in Washington. All the members present were impressed with the belief that at that time, the spring of 1886, he was in full possession of his mental powers, and that his manner and action as President of the Association showed his accustomed vigor and force of character.

During September of the same year, Mr. Bancroft visited Worcester after an absence of forty years. At that time, also, he displayed mental and bodily activity such as usually belong only to a young man. It fell to the lot of the writer of the present notice to act as his guide while in Worcester. During the afternoon, he appeared unexpectedly at the Free Public Library, accompanied by his faithful German man-servant. I recognized him and greeted him heartily. He asked to be shown over the building. Thinking to spare him fatigue I went with him through the lower rooms, but soon finding that he wished to see everything conducted him from attic to basement. There was a meeting of the Council of this Society on the day chosen by Mr. Bancroft for his visit to Worcester. He had selected the day with reference to attending that meeting. Before he had finished examining the library building and its contents, the time had come for the meeting and he invited me to go to it with him in his carriage.

¹ Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, article "Bancroft, George," volume I., p. 154.

As we passed along Main Street I pointed out to him the house in which his father last lived and died, and other old landmarks. He showed great interest. Reaching the hall of this Society he was greeted most cordially by the other members of the Council and remained during the meeting. On coming out I asked his servant where his carriage was. He said that Mr. Bancroft preferred to walk, and so two or three members of the Council and the Librarian walked with him to the Bay State House where he was staying. As soon as he got out of the door of the hall he assumed an attitude, and pointing to a spot on Court Hill directly in front, exclaimed, "I saw a man in the pillory there when I was a boy. He had uttered some blasphemous words and was punished in that way." He was in a cheerful, playful mood and showed much enthusiasm as the houses of Isaiah Thomas and other old residents, and the site of the second church occupied by his father were passed, and recalled reminiscences of his boyhood. He had accepted an invitation of mine to attend in the evening a session of the Worcester County Musical Association which is held in Worcester every autumn. Promptly at the time set for going he was ready and we went to Mechanics Hall together. Seats in the centre of the front row in the west gallery had been assigned to us. The oratorio of the evening was *Arminius*. Mr. Bancroft listened to it with attention and enjoyment. At the close of one of the parts, in accordance with an arrangement previously made, our associate, Hon. Edward L. Davis, went upon the platform and announced to the audience that Mr. Bancroft was in the building. Anxious to do him honor everybody rose and turned around. Mr. Bancroft acknowledged the attention by rising and bowing. It is interesting to note that although he had stayed away from Worcester for forty years, nevertheless he never lost an opportunity to inquire about the place and its old residents, and showed interest in the city by giving to it \$10,000 for the establishment of the Aaron and Lucretia Bancroft

scholarship in the name of his father and mother, for the education in college or elsewhere of some young person,¹ and also by selecting it as the place of burial for his second wife, a child and himself. An incident occurred in Mechanics Hall which does not seem too trivial to mention because it illustrates admirably the manner of Mr. Bancroft. Mr. Davis wished to have his elder daughter introduced to the distinguished guest. I introduced her as Miss Lillie Davis. "Ah," said Mr. Bancroft instantly, "Lilly! So called because straight as a lily, and I have no doubt, because pure as a lily."

Before leaving Mr. Bancroft for the night, I arranged to meet him the next morning at 7 o'clock and act as his guide in a drive about Worcester. Punctually at the hour appointed we started. He was much impressed by the beauty of the city, and expressed himself enthusiastically about it. He was reminded continually of incidents of his life here in childhood. In passing the first building occupied by the religious society to which his father ministered, still standing on Summer street, or Back street as it was formerly called, he spoke of his father's old horse which on coming down Salisbury street after reaching Lincoln square, on week days would invariably turn up Main street, but on Sunday as invariably turn up Back street. He was reminded, too, of a scene in church one Sunday. A boy who was a servant of Dr. Bancroft sat in one of the galleries. There was considerable noise in the gallery on the occasion referred to, and Dr. Bancroft looked up sternly towards the quarter where the disturbance seemed to be, and his servant thought that he was looking reprovingly at him. He was so frightened that oblivious of the proprieties of times of worship he cried out aloud, "It wasn't I, it was another boy." Mr. Bancroft wished to call on Senator Hoar and in going to his house while riding

¹ See Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1883, pp. 317 and 318, for the letter of Mr. Bancroft, in which he proposed to establish the scholarship.

along Lincoln street, just as we reached the site of the old Lincoln mansion, I remember that he repeated an anecdote of Levi Lincoln, Senior, who had been Attorney-General of the United States during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson. It must be remembered that Mr. Lincoln became nearly blind in the latter portion of his life. "Riding along Lincoln street one day," said Mr. Bancroft, "Mr. Lincoln met a man driving a large flock of geese. In consequence of the dimness of his sight he mistook the geese for children and threw out of the carriage a handful of small coin, saying, 'Bless you, my children.'" We continued our drive until it was time for Mr. Bancroft to take the cars to return to Newport, and then drove to the railway station. I expressed the hope, in parting, that he would soon re-visit Worcester, but he spoke of his age and gave me to understand that it was unlikely that he should be able to do so.

Soon after his visit to Worcester, Mr. Bancroft began to fail and during the last few years of his life he was able to do but little work. Our honored and loved associate, Mr. Hoar, visited Mr. Bancroft in the evening of the last Sunday in December, 1890. "He was sitting," writes Mr. Hoar, "in his library up-stairs. He received me in his usual emphatic manner, taking both my hands and saying 'My dear friend, how glad I am to see you.' He was alone. He evidently knew me when I went in, and inquired about Worcester, as he commonly did, and expressed his amazement at its remarkable growth. I stayed with him twenty or thirty minutes. The topics of our conversation were, I believe, suggested by me, and the whole conversation was one which gave evidence of full understanding on his part of what he was talking about. It was not merely an old man's memory of the past, but fresh and vigorous thought on new topics which were suggested to him in the course of the conversation. I think he exhibited a quickness and vigor of thought and intelligence, and spoke with a beauty of diction that no man I know could have surpassed. * * *

I told his son about this conversation the day after Mr. Bancroft's death. He said that the presence of a visitor acted in this way as a stimulant, but that he had not lately shown such intelligence in the family, but seemed lost and feeble."

In the course of his conversation with Mr. Hoar he said "that his own inclination towards history, he thought, was due very much to the example of his father. He said his father would have been a very eminent historian, if he had had material at his command, and that he had a remarkably judicial mind." "He spoke of the clergymen, especially of the Unitarian clergymen, so many of whom belonged to Harvard in his time. He said he had little sympathy for the Unitarianism of his day, for its theology no, for its spiritualism yes." "He asked about the Election Bill pending in the Senate." Before the close of the conversation, Mr. Bancroft seemed to lose the control of his faculties which he showed in the beginning, and relapsed into forgetfulness. The remark made by Mr. Bancroft about the Unitarianism of his day, and the curiosity which I had heard expressed by several persons to know what his denominational preferences were, led me to write to Rev. Rush R. Shippen, of Washington, to learn what he knew about the matter. There is of course comparatively little significance to-day in the denominational connections of men, those connections are so commonly determined by social considerations and questions of policy, and so many thinkers, to-day, while retaining a connection with churches have come to believe that little can be found out about the theological and philosophical questions which have caused divisions among men. Still it is proper enough to satisfy curiosity which is natural and not obtrusive. Mr. Shippen writes, "At the dedication of All Souls Church" (a Unitarian Church), "January, 1878, Mrs. Bancroft took a pew. The trustees, by a custom then adopted, placed upon the end arm of the pew, by the aisle, a silvered plate with her

name inscribed on it. Upon seeing this, Mr. Bancroft had it removed and his own name substituted, and it has so remained till the present time. He has held the pew, paying rent, though he rarely occupied it. Mr. Bancroft has been in his pew in our church a few times, but not often. I have not supposed that he went elsewhere. He has always received me graciously, but my calls have not been frequent or intimate. On one occasion he said to me with his quick, emphatic way, 'I am *not* an Episcopalian! I am a Congregationalist!' He repeated it as if to give emphasis, 'I am *not* an Episcopalian.' However, we never talked theology, and my impression is that Mr. Bancroft cared little about it." It has been thought by many persons that twenty or thirty years ago Mr. Bancroft expressed in a public address a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. Whether this was so or not I judge from what I hear of conversations had with him during the later years of his mental vigor that he probably held what would be regarded generally as very broad and radical views in respect to questions of theology.

Mr. Bancroft died January 17, 1891, and his remains were at once brought to Worcester and buried in his lot in the Rural Cemetery. Mr. Bancroft married in 1827, Miss Sarah H. Dwight. She died June 26, 1837. In the following year, he married Mrs. Elizabeth (Davis) Bliss, who died a few years ago. Two sons by the first marriage survive their father, namely, John Chandler (H. C., 1854), and George (H. C., 1856). The latter has lived for a long time in Europe. Mr. Bancroft was a member of numerous learned societies. It is only necessary to state here that he was a correspondent of the French Institute, and of the Royal Academy of Berlin. Besides receiving other degrees he was made a D.C.L., at Oxford in 1849, and a Doctor Juris by the University of Bonn in 1868. In September, 1870, he celebrated at Berlin the fiftieth anniversary of receiving the degree of Ph.D., at Göttingen.

George Bancroft was a remarkable man and his career

was long, eventful and brilliant. It has fallen to the lot of few men to be so successful. Early in life he began a great work and he lived long enough to finish it and to enjoy the consciousness of large accomplishment and the satisfaction of having his fellow-men regard the work he had done as of great importance. A man of unusual mental powers he made the most of very exceptional opportunities of acquiring knowledge. He chose his life-work when a young man and carried it on almost to the end of life with perfect system and great laboriousness. Seeing early in life the value of exercise and recreation, and being naturally very social, while he worked hard for many hours every day he never allowed anything to interfere with daily exercise and social intercourse. His success in life was largely owing to these practices.

Beginning early in life to make acquaintances we have found him associating in his student days with the principal scholars of Germany, France and Italy, and with such men of literary distinction as Goethe and Byron. From the time that he entered Polk's cabinet to the end of his life, he appears as the companion of the great men of the world. I have quoted the words of Mr. Winthrop to show how he was received by the statesmen and historians of Great Britain when he represented this country at the Court of St. James. We learn, too, that, while in England he used to have long conversations with Albert, the Prince Consort, in the German language, on literary and public questions.¹ Later, in Germany, he enjoyed rare social distinction. He was intimate with Bismarck, who welcomed him (a rare event in his intercourse with men) to familiar conversation in his own home. The emperor Wilhelm I. was strongly drawn towards him. So, too, was Friedrich; and the present emperor had a wreath placed upon the casket which contained his remains at the funeral services in Washington. For many years both in Washing-

¹ Magazine of American History, March, 1891, p. 229.

ton and Newport, he has been the central figure in society. No man, American or foreigner, seemed to feel that he had seen either place if he had not been introduced to Mr. Bancroft, or at least seen him. Surely if the knowledge that he has performed a well-appreciated and great work and the undoubted assurance of being the cynosure of great men and of women of social eminence on both continents can make a man happy, Mr. Bancroft should have been happy. Whether he was so or not, he was one of the most successful of men, judging things from a worldly point of view. He had decided peculiarities in society; was regarded as artificial, and not only as playful but as frivolous. Still, in England, Germany and America his eccentricities were overlooked, for they were overshadowed by the conviction that he was distinguished by intellectuality and great attainments.

Mr. Bancroft was a successful and highly honored diplomatist; he was also a great social success. What shall be said of his monumental work, the *History of the United States*? Our associate, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, has lately said that "in all its varied editions" it "will always be received and recognized as the leading authority in American History for the period which it includes." As the different volumes of the work appeared, while many of his statements and estimates of men were criticised, often severely, the results of his labors received the highest commendation from many of the best critical journals in this country and abroad, and unstinted praise from such men as Edward Everett, William H. Prescott and George Ripley in this country, and Professor Heeren, Baron Bunsen and Frederick von Raumer in Germany. The methods of writing history have changed somewhat in late years, and while Mr. Bancroft's work seems likely to remain as of standard importance it is open to criticism. I presume that I should not differ much from the estimate of it given by our associate, Mr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in the account

which he gave of it in the *New York Evening Post* of January 19, 1891, and in the *Nation* of a few days later. Mr. Higginson speaks with large knowledge of the subject and evidently aims to be fair. The criticism has struck somewhat harshly upon the ears of some of Mr. Bancroft's friends, coming as it did so soon after the great man's death, and following the adoration which had latterly been bestowed upon him. But it has long been known that while the history possesses remarkable excellencies, it has, like most great creations, defects which it is important should receive careful consideration. I wish only to add that in view of the facts that Mr. Bancroft made very large use of manuscript sources and rare books in the preparation of his history, and that his quotations were made freely rather than with verbal exactness and completeness, it is very important that large portions if not the whole of his very valuable private library should become the property of the United States government, or of some public institution in one of our large cities where the great collection of manuscripts and other material used in the composition of his history may be easily consulted for purposes of verification and additional information.

DR. SCHLIEMANN AND THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
VALUE OF HIS DISCOVERIES.

BY THOMAS CHASE.

THE nineteenth century, and especially the latter half of it, will be memorable in all time for its archæological discoveries. It may boast no single achievement equal to the unveiling of the buried cities of Campania, which gave us as in an instantaneous photograph, the very life of the ancients, moulds waiting only to be filled with plaster to repeat the forms and features of old inhabitants, the chicken broiling on the grill and the loaf baking in the oven, as well as breathing statues which adorned the houses and paintings on the walls with colors fresh as of yesterday. But even Herculaneum and Pompeii afforded only fuller details in the knowledge of a civilization which we knew fairly well already: the discoveries of our age, while they have in like manner increased our former knowledge, have also revealed new epochs and widened the annals of time. They have been made in all those regions which were the famous seats of ancient civilization; each of them has thrown additional light on the results of all the others: they have made immortal the names of many great explorers; but none are connected with more fascinating legends of epic and dramatic song, none are more important in their historical significance, and none have added greater lustre to the name of the explorer, than those conducted by our late associate, Dr. Heinrich Schliemann.

In one of the most racy and romantic of autobiographies, Dr. Schliemann has himself recounted the very various experiences of his life, some of the salient points in which I will briefly mention. Born on the 6th January, 1822, in

a little town in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the son of a Protestant clergyman, he spent eight years of his early life in another village in the same duchy whither his father removed in 1823. The village had its old castle and romantic legends of buried treasures and robber knights, which made a deep impression on the boy's mind, and he wondered that his father did not dig up the silver bowl or the golden cradle reputed to be concealed in his neighborhood, to relieve himself of the poverty of which he sometimes complained. His father told him of the wonders unearthed at Herculaneum and Pompeii, and found him an eager listener; but nothing else so delighted him as to be told the story of the Trojan war. In 1829, Heinrich received as a Christmas gift a Universal History which contained an engraving representing "Troy in flames, with its huge walls and the Scæan gate," and Æneas escaping bearing his father and leading his son. Young Schliemann had hoped that he should sometime visit the scene of so interesting legends, or rather, of so wonderful a history, but his father had told him that not a vestige of the city was left. But as he looked upon this picture the boy said, "Such walls cannot possibly have been completely destroyed," and both father and son at last agreed that one day Heinrich should excavate Troy. "Thanks to God," says the enthusiastic autobiographer, "my firm belief in the existence of that Troy has never forsaken me." Troy was in all his dreams. He tells us a romantic story of his childish attachment for a little girl of his own age, with whom he "exchanged vows of eternal love." They agreed that as soon as they grew up they would marry, when he would immediately proceed to dig up the wonderful treasures buried in their neighborhood, and then excavate Troy; she heard him with confiding faith and gave him her warmest sympathy in all these plans.

His father knew no Greek, but taught him Latin. During his eleventh year, he had an excellent classical tutor,

and in 1833 he spent three months in a gymnasium, exchanging it for the *Realschule* in consequence of family misfortunes. At the age of fourteen, he left the *Realschule* to become an apprentice in a grocer's shop; and his education, though in fact hardly begun, was ended so far as it depended upon the training of the schools.

The story of the hardships and severe struggles of his youth, and the various ventures and vicissitudes through which he amassed at last a large fortune, is not the least romantic part of his history. It is the old story that the hand of the diligent, guided by quick intelligence, maketh rich. But I will speak here only of his intellectual development and the influences which shaped his career as an excavator and discoverer. If in his great commercial career he loved money [it was solely—he tells us—as a means of realizing the great idea of his life, the excavation of Troy.]

While he was working from five in the morning till eleven at night in the little grocer's shop in which he spent the first five and a half years after he left school, one evening a drunken miller, who had a few years before nearly completed the course of study at a gymnasium, entered the shop and gave him at once the keenest pleasure and the bitterest pain by reciting about a hundred lines of Homer, observing the rhythmic cadence of the verses. Young Schliemann made the reciter repeat the verses three times; and while he wept at the hard fate which prevented him from studying Greek, he was charmed with the melody of the words, although he did not understand their meaning. In a few years he began to study the modern languages of Europe, becoming able to read, write and speak in no less than ten of them in an incredibly short time. To these he soon added Ancient Greek and Arabic, and a review of his Latin. His methods of study were novel and ingenious, and have received, as they deserve, the attention of teachers. One fallacy in some of our new and so-called

"natural" methods is absent from them; they make no promise that any language can be acquired without a deal of diligent labor. The power and willingness to do hard work, undeterred by any obstacles, however formidable, is the key to Schliemann's marvellous success as a linguist, as well as in everything else he undertook.

At length at the end of the year 1863, Schliemann had acquired a fortune and was ready to devote the rest of his life to travel, study, and above all, to the realization of his dreams. In 1864 he visited the site of Carthage, and travelled in India, China and Japan. On his voyage thence to San Francisco, he wrote his first book, "*La Chine et le Japon*," which was published the next year in Paris. In the French capital he made a long sojourn, devoting himself to archæological studies, now pursued regularly for the first time in his life. His first visit to the classical lands was in 1868, and its fruit appeared in a book with the title, "*Ithaca, the Peloponnesus, and Troja*." The year 1869 was spent chiefly in the United States. In April, 1870, he began his excavations at Hissarlik for the discovery of ancient Troy, which were continued, with intermissions in the winter seasons, till the 17th June, 1873. Among the earliest and most intelligent appreciations of the significance of the discoveries made in these excavations, is the admirable paper by the late President of our Society, the Hon. Stephen Salisbury, which formed a part of the Report of the Council in April, 1875, and was republished with the title "*Troy and Homer*." Permit me to congratulate the Society that its present President, bearing the same honored name as his predecessor, has distinguished himself as the patron and conductor of excavations in Central America, which in the fruitfulness and historical importance of their results are worthy of comparison with the most successful explorations in the other hemisphere. The excavations at Mycenæ, so rich in the treasures they revealed,—whose value in gold was

almost as wonderful as their far higher value as witnesses of a prehistoric culture and civilization,—began in February, 1874, and continued till the end of 1876. In 1878 Schliemann explored Ithaca, not without valuable results, but none of them comparable to those at Troy, Mycenæ and Tiryns. In September of the same year, he resumed his explorations at Troy, continuing his explorations the next year also, on that site and in the Troad, with the valuable aid of Rudolf Virchow and Emile Burnouf. In 1880 and 1881 Schliemann was excavating in the dome-shaped grave at Orchomenos, long known as the "Treasury of Minyas." The finding of the stone roof, with its beautiful sculptures of spirals, palm-leaves and rosettes in delicate relief, like an out-spread carpet, was the most important result of this exploration, unless we give the same place to the discovery that the inner square chamber adjoining the dome-shaped chamber was sunk from the surface above like the pit-graves at Mycenæ. The inner chamber appears to be the tomb, the round chamber a sanctuary adjoining it.

Two winters were spent by Dr. Schliemann in Egypt, in the latter of which he had the company of Virchow. Many objects of archæological value were collected, and forwarded to the Ethnological museum in Berlin. In the last three or four years of his life, Schliemann was unsuccessfully engaged in attempts to secure the ground in order to make excavations at Gnosso, one of the great seats of royal power in Crete. He also discovered a very ancient temple of Urania Aphrodite in Cythera, and made explorations at Pylos and in Sphacteria.

In November of last year, Dr. Schliemann went to Halle to consult a surgeon on his increasing deafness. An operation was performed which seemed to be successful. On his return through Berlin, Leipzig, Paris and Italy, he caught a severe cold and stopped at Naples for treatment, and there he died on the 26th of December, 1890.

The discovery of the remains of the palace in the citadel of Tiryns, and the skilful reconstruction of its plan by Dr. Dörpfeld, made in 1884 and 1885, are regarded by many archæologists as the most important of the services Schliemann rendered to archæological science, and are so pronounced by Dr. Ernst Curtius in a letter which I have had the honor of receiving from him.¹ Besides adding to our knowledge of prehistoric walls and fortifications, they revealed for the first time in any satisfactory completeness the structure of a royal palace in the heroic days. "The nearest approach to a knowledge of an ancient royal palace previously made," says Dr. Dörpfeld, "was at the excavation two years before, of the dwelling of the ancient ruler of Troy; but its rooms were so destroyed that no clue to their connection could be found. But now we can easily picture in our minds the home of a prehistoric king." "We see," says Dr. Adler, "its mighty walls, with their towers and gates; we enter by the pillar-decked propylæa the great court of the men, surrounded by porticos, and with its great altar to Zeus Herkeios as the centre point of the house; we pass into the stately hall, with its anteroom and vestibule; we even visit the bath-room, and finally pass into the women's dwelling, with its separate court and numerous chambers." The rooms most used face to the south, securing warmth in winter, while the summer heat was kept off by the national method of building with thick walls of sun-dried bricks and roofs of wood covered with clay. Systematic and effectual provision is made for drainage. The rooms are lighted through the doors, and also, it is probable, by elevated apertures in the sides. The walls are adorned with colored decorations, not confined to

¹ As connected with my whole subject, I beg leave to call attention to the skilful summary of the results of recent excavations, given in the *Nachtrag* to the sixth edition of the first volume of Curtius's *Griechische Geschichte*, pp. 697-701. It should be added that as regards Greek art and culture in their highest period of bloom, no other explorations have been so fruitful in instruction as those so successfully conducted by Curtius himself at Olympia.

geometrical ornaments, but including figure painting. Some of the painted designs are similar to those which are chiselled on the stone-roof at Orchomenos, and have been attributed to Egyptian sources. A frieze of alabaster was found, adorned with designs in blue glass paste; which paste, it is argued, may be the *kyanos* in Homer's description of the palace of Alcinoüs. The whole plan gives a favorable idea of the talent and skill of the architect. "The plan and construction secure," says Dr. Adler, "proud seclusion towards those without; suitable accommodation for guards and domestics about roomy courts; and dignified approaches up to the reception rooms; and all well lighted and yet shady and cool." The great success of the investigations at Tiryns have made the remains of the palace at Troy as well as that at Mycenæ intelligible; and on many other points the discoveries made at one place have shed a flood of light upon the remains found at other places. Classical archaeology has become a *comparative* science.

I have alluded only cursorily, when I have alluded at all, to the incidents and general results of Dr. Schliemann's excavations, assuming at least a general knowledge of them on the part of my hearers. It may be serviceable, however, to consider their historical importance as judged in the light of the best archæological scholarship.

In sum, the prevailing voice of the best archæologists of our time gives Schliemann the great credit of having revealed a whole prehistoric epoch of civilization, of which we had, before, but faint and uncertain glimpses. Those glimpses—almost confined to the three localities, Tiryns, Mycenæ and Orchomenos—were indeed impressive. Although it would be more instructive to visit these places as they have now been laid bare, I am glad I saw them when they had been hardly touched by the shovel. Even then I believed that those mighty walls and mysterious galleries, those subterranean tombs or treasure-houses, and that impressive sculpture, the oldest in Europe, which gave its

name to the Lions' Gate, were monuments of an age anterior to any recorded in the authentic history of Greece, and I said to myself "There was an Agamemnon." Not that all the legends connected with that name were true, not necessarily that that name was ever borne by any mortal chieftain; but I was convinced that Mycenæ must have been in some far distant age the seat of wealth and power and, perhaps, dominion; that its princes, "ruling" as Thucydides says of Agamemnon, "over many islands and all of Argos," might well be prominent in that period which, as depicted in Homer and the tragedians, we call the heroic age; and that the heroic age itself, however much has been added to our picture of it by fiction, has a background of historic reality. And yet neither I nor the most accomplished archæologist could have brought up any valid argument to refute the assertion that these cities were founded and flourished centuries later than the objects revealed by Schliemann's excavations give us sufficient reason to suppose, or to prove that we were not led astray by imagination and sentiment when we assumed even the slightest historic foundation for the fabrics poets had woven out of "astronomical myths" and unsubstantial fancies.

I beg leave to say at this point that in my opinion the theory of the origin of poetical and historical legends in solar myths and the like—while often ingenious, and in some cases not improbable, has been pressed much too far. I quite agree with the brothers Grimm and Müllenhoff—cited by Curtius in his speech at the meeting held in Berlin, in March of this year, in commemoration of Dr. Schliemann—that at the foundation of all great epic poems, which assume to relate historical facts, lie mighty events and great movements of the people. They were thinking particularly of the great German epics; but with the light we now have on the heroic or preheroic age of Greece, I should unhesitatingly say the same thing of the *Iliad*.

We have good grounds for the supposition that the flourishing period of the civilization of Mycenæ was approximately during the four centuries from 1400 to 1000 B. C., and that a similar civilization prevailed in that period along the whole eastern coast of Greece, from Lacedæmon to Thessaly, in the islands of the Archipelago, and in Crete and Rhodes, and has left its traces, also, in Caria and Egypt. These archaeological inferences are drawn in good part from the style and workmanship of the vases and various works of art which have been discovered in the graves and ruins. In the grave of the mother of Ab-Mose, the deliverer from the Hyksos (about 1600 B. C.), a sword has been found exactly in the style of the swords found at Mycenæ, with relievos of four grasshoppers, and a lion pursuing a steer. "As pattern and copy are seldom far separated, we should infer," says Schuchhardt,¹ "the fifteenth or the sixteenth century as the earliest beginning for Mycenæan work of this kind." Mycenæan vases were found lately at Fayum in company with cartouches of Khuenaten and Rameses II. (1500-1300 B. C.). In Rhodes, a scarabæus of Amen Hotep III. was found among objects of Mycenæan workmanship. A scarabæus found in the palace at Mycenæ with the name of the Egyptian queen Ti proves only that the palace was there, and probably still occupied, after the thirteenth century.² But perhaps the best argument for this chronology is that it makes the end of the Mycenæan period correspond with the traditional date of the Dorian invasion and settlement of the Peloponnesus,³ which mastered the old strongholds and introduced a different civilization. The date of the end being approximately established, four centuries is not too long a time to allow for the gradual development of the Mycenæan power and culture, of which there are many in-

¹ Dr. Carl Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen in Troja, Tiryns, Mykenä, Orchomenos, Ithaka, im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft*, p. 357.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

dications in the monuments. The walls of Tiryns are older than those of Mycenæ, and a long time must have elapsed between the first rude fortifications on the hill at Tiryns and the Cyclopean masonry with which, after the subjugation of the whole plain, they were gradually replaced. The walls of Mycenæ are of three distinct periods: Tirynthian or Cyclopean, rectangular, and well-joined polygonal. The pit-graves are of different ages, and the most recent of them is older than the golden goblets and rings found in other parts of the citadel. These pit-graves represent the founders of the stronghold, whom we may call, if we please, the Perseidæ; the underground and vaulted tombs are more recent, and we may recognize in them, as did the ancients, the tombs of the Pelopidæ. The shreds of vases found at the greatest depths are older than those found above, and even the oldest burnt colorings must have required generations for the perfection of so well-developed and conventional a style in the representation of flowers and marine animals.

What was the origin of this civilization? It was evidently derived from many sources, and it bears witness to a free and long-continued intercourse between the dwellers in eastern Greece and the various other peoples who dwelt on the islands and along the coast of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. It is a mixture of insular, Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, Egyptian and even Babylonian elements, yet in no accidental kaleidoscopic combination; it has informed all that it has borrowed with its own life, and has made all things new. We have not yet the true Greek art, which, in its perfection, is the despair of all subsequent ages, and which is very different from the Mycenæan as well as very much higher, but the promise of that perfect art already appears. We trace the suggestions or the *motifs* of the walled strongholds, palaces and tombs of the Mycenæan epoch to Oriental influences, but they surpassed their models, and took on a new artistic perfection. The special

endowment of the Greek race for scientific plan and artistic form has already displayed itself.¹

The remains found in the islands are particularly noticeable for their Mycenæan characteristics. It is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Schliemann did not live to carry out the explorations in Crete, which he had projected. From what has already been found there, we have reason to expect very important results from further excavations. A few pregnant lines in Thucydides² would indicate that Crete held the first thalassocracy in the history of man, and was the England of that period when human civilization was centred on the coasts and in the islands of the Ægean and in the lands bordering on the southeastern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The bearers of the Mycenæan civilization were not all—so far as our evidence goes—of one name. We think first of the Achæians, who are especially spoken of as holding Argolis, and are found, also, in Crete and in Thessaly; then we find as possessing the same civilization, the Minyæns in Bœotia, the Ionians in Attica, the Carians on the islands. It has been suggested, with much plausibility, that there may have been a period of political union among these various peoples under the sway of Minos. Thucydides says that he subdued the Carians. The legend of the annual tribute paid him by Athens from which she was delivered by Theseus, may point to a similar rule of Crete for a time over Attica.

There are many indications in old names and legends of the early importance of Crete.³ A long, broad island, fencing in the archipelago from the southern sea, its snowy mountains visible on the west from the mountains of Laconia, on the east from the coast of Caria, its Alpine heights enclosing rich and fertile valleys, and its northern coast abounding in excellent harbors, it could support a large population, and make its influence felt in every direction.

¹ Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* I⁶, 701.

² Thucyd. I., 4.

³ Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* I⁶, pp. 62-65.

Here the Pelasgic Zeus was born : a fact to which testimony was borne twenty or thirty years ago, when the leaders of the unfortunately unsuccessful rebellion against the Turks sent a petition for aid to the government and people of the United States beginning with the words, "We, the descendants of Minos and of Zeus": for "still the old instinct brings back the old names." Here, too, Artemis was born, hence Dionysos and Ariadne took their way to Naxos; here Demeter was married to Iasios; the son of Minos built the sacred way from Athens to Delphi for Apollo, and established for the same god, pre-eminently the god of Grecian culture, his stated service at Delphi. Crete, too, was the abode of Dædalus, the father of Greek artificers, the founder of Grecian art. Semitic settlers came from Syria and Egypt, but never overbore the Greek element of the population. In the earliest records, Crete is called the island of a hundred cities. It won the Carians whom it subdued, to its dominion. Its mariners doubled the southern promontory of Hellas and landed at Crisa at the foot of Parnassus; they named the gulf of Tarentum and changed to Minoa the name of one of the chief cities of Sicily.

The centre of power in the Mycenæan period may have been sometimes in Crete, sometimes at Mycenæ. As for the population embraced in this dominion, archæology and tradition alike ascribe its origin in part to Caria, but probably in a larger degree to Lydia and Phrygia.

It is noticeable that the world these explorations have revealed corresponds in many particulars with the world of Homer. Mycenæ and Orchomenos appear in the Homeric poems as great and wealthy towns, such as their remains prove them to have been. There are characteristics, too, of the Homeric world which mark, also, the Mycenæan age, but which disappear in subsequent ages, both in Greece and Asia Minor.¹ One of these is the well-walled

¹ Schuchhardt, 352 fg.

cities, with their towers and gates; whereas, the Dorians, as in Sparta, dwelt in unwall'd towns, as did the Greeks of Asia Minor before the incursions of the Persians. So with the inside of the citadel or castle: the great court surrounded with colonnades, with the altar of Zeus in its midst, and the chief hall with its columns, described in the *Odyssey*, are found at Tiryns, Mycenæ and Troy. The wealth of metals in the Homeric palaces has been deemed a pure invention of fancy, but the brazen plates in the dome-shaped tombs remind us of the brazen walls in the palace of Alcinoüs, and the profusion of golden treasures at Mycenæ and Troy, represent to us the embossed goblets of Nestor, and the golden hounds that held watch before the gate of Alcinoüs. "The most striking coincidence between the objects of art discovered at Mycenæ and those described in Homer," says Schuchhardt,¹ "is in the inlaid work on the dagger-blades and the recently found goblets. Nowhere else up to this time on Grecian ground have works of this kind come to light,—whole pictures made of different metals,—but they are exactly such as Homer describes, as when he represents on the shield of Achilles vineyards of blue grapes on golden vines surrounded by hedges of tin, and young men wearing golden swords on silver swordbelts."

There are points, on the other hand, in which the world of Homer is *not* that of Mycenæ. These are accounted for, however, by the composite origin of the poems, in which, with greater or less limitations, most scholars believe, and the interpolations they may have received.

The objects discovered in the ruins which Schliemann ascribes, with the consent of most scholars, to ancient Troy, mark a civilization different from the Mycenæan and evidently older; but before the destruction of the city the Mycenæan style begins to appear in the objects excavated, indicating a time, as we may infer, at which both cities

¹ pp. 352, 353.

were existing. This Mycenæan culture marks the great period in all the cities which Schliemann*excavated: in Mycenæ and Tiryns nothing of consequence succeeds it; in Troy it is followed only by the scanty culture of a succession of insignificant villages, built on the ruins of the old city, and nothing striking or important presents itself afterwards till we come to the Hellenic settlement.

We have something more, then, than pure conjecture to go upon, if we assume that the Greeks of the Mycenæan period were the conquerors and destroyers of Troy, and that there is a large and substantial historical basis for "the tale of Troy divine" notwithstanding the great amount of mythological and other legends with which it has been overlaid. Minos put down the piracy which was practised by the inhabitants of the Cyclades. It may be, as Dr. Schuchhardt suggests, that Troy, the greatest city of Asia Minor at that time, preyed upon the commerce of the Greeks, or sent marauding expeditions to her shores, and the carrying away of women may have been an occasional accompaniment of such raids. We must remember that piracy was not, as yet, against the law of nations. Thucydides¹ points us to the "old poets" as representing the people of that day, while giving hospitable reception to strangers touching at their shores, asking them the question "are you pirates, gentlemen," on the ground that if they had this occupation they would not disclaim it, neither would those who asked the question reproach them for it. At the same time we may well believe that any people who were suffering from the piracy of another nation would be likely to attack and crush that nation if they had the power. And so we may imagine that the Greeks banded together in a great expedition to the Troad and crushed the most formidable enemy to their growth and wealth.

There is another theory, put forward by that accomp-

¹ Thucyd. I., 5, 2. Cf. Hom. *Odys.*, III., 71-74.

lished scholar and man of genius, Dr. Ernst Curtius,¹ which finds the origin of the Homeric poems in the time of the Æolian-Achaian migration to the northwest coast and mainland of Asia Minor. Resisted by the inhabitants, and forced to maintain a long, laborious warfare with the people whom they would conquer or dispossess, they kept up their spirits by songs in praise of their heroic ancestors, whom they feigned to have fought of old in the self-same lands. "It is a peculiarity of the Hellenes," says Curtius, "which recurs in all their expeditions of conquest, that they claimed not only the right of the stronger, but strove to make out a sort of hereditary right." He instances the "return of the Heracleidæ, the expedition of the Arnæans into Bœotia, which was represented as a return of the Theban descendants of Cadmus, the claim of the Athenians fighting in Ionia, that Theseus had also been in Asia Minor and fought with the Amazons," and other examples. He proceeds, "Everywhere the new-comers make claims to right, which are clothed in mythological forms, everywhere they know how to speak of by-gone generations which had already been victorious in the new won lands. With the invented exploits of their ancestors the actual events of the present are blended, and so a full picture takes shape in the imagination of a poetical people." Such legends and lays must also have arisen in the Æolian colonization of the Trojan country, says Curtius: we could safely assume their existence even if it had not left a trace of itself; and we may regard them as a mirror in which the actual conquest of the land in the Æolian migration is reflected. But surely it is all the better if these Æolians and Achaians could recall the actual exploits of their ancestors in these lands, and invoke the muse of history as well as the inventive muse.

Schuchhardt thinks the unsettled period of a resisted colonization is unfavorable for the production of lays and epics,

¹ Gr. Gesch. I^o, 118 fgg.

while on the other hand we can hardly imagine the rich courts of the monarchs of the Mycenæan period as wanting the ornament of song. It is certainly a possibility—nay, more, a not improbable supposition—that Greece and northwestern Asia were engaged in conflict in those early days. At the same time the Æolian migration may have had an important part to play among the sources of the Homeric legends, modifying, perhaps, the legends of an older contest. The poems tell us of a long-continued struggle, the conquest of other cities besides Troy, the division of the Greek hosts in various quarters, the tillage of the lands across the Propontis: all tokens of a colonization.

There is an interesting problem on which I have not yet touched, as regards the authenticity of Hissarlik as the site of Homer's Troy. I may say at the outset that the *archæological* value of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries is little affected whether we decide that Hissarlik or Bunarbaschi was the site of the capital of the Troad. The walls and towers, the ornaments and articles of domestic and military use, testify to the same civilization to which any similar relics concealed under the rival hill would bear witness should they ever be revealed. That two so wealthy towns should be so near together would be somewhat surprising; but perhaps there was a considerable number in the Troad. I have often thought that scholars have hardly paid enough importance to the casual remark of Achilles, that the largest share of the booty always falls to Agamemnon "whenever we sack a well-placed city of Troia." It may be remarked that the larger part of the eminent scholars who have preferred Bunarbaschi announced their preference before Dr. Schliemann had made his excavations, and that most of the prominent European archaeologists have accepted what he calls the "second city" in his excavations as the veritable Ilium of all time; though there

are some most respectable dissenters, as Curtius himself, Dr. Jebb, and our countryman, Mr. Stillman.

Dr. Schliemann's discoveries were looked upon at first by archaeologists—I will not say with jealousy, but with some distrust, because he was not a trained specialist in their science. It was not unnatural that very learned scholars in Germany who had studied ancient art, monuments and relics with the most exhaustive thoroughness and minuteness, and compared them with everything in ancient literature which could throw upon them any light, were little prepared to find any good coming from an *ungebildeter Kaufmann*, an *ungelehrter Philister*. But you cannot mistrust the testimony of ancient walls and towers and palaces, of ancient graves and treasures, and various objects of art. They mean something—and if you dislike one interpretation of their language, you must propose another. Again, in all cases the excavations and the objects they revealed have been studied and judged by learned specialists of good repute, and it is on their testimony that we accept the great results which I have sketched in outline, and which will give the name of Dr. Schliemann a well-deserved immortality. And of Schliemann himself we may say that he had been learning all these years, so that if at first his judgments were those of an uninformed enthusiast, they grew more and more well-founded and consequently respected. His name is imperishably associated with discoveries which the world can never forget. His career will be an inspiration to all who struggle against what seem invincible obstacles to realize their great ideals. He will be honored as a dreamer who dared to remain loyal to the dreams of his youth; as a man of splendid energy and will, which triumphed over even Turkish obstinacy and inertia, over danger, fever, heat and cold; as a man of faith—the faith which removes mountains and discloses the buried cities they conceal.

THE ABBÉ BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG.

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS.

I.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

CHARLES STEPHEN BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, the historian, archæologist, philologist and ethnographer, was born at Bourbourg, in the north of France, on the 8th of September, 1814, and died at Nice, January 8, 1874. He was descended, on his mother's side, from the viscounts of Bourbourg. He studied at the College of Saint Omer and first appeared in literature as a writer of romances and moral tales. This period of his activity was from 1835 to 1840. He afterwards devoted himself in Ghent to philosophical and theological studies and continued the same in Rome, after travelling through Germany, Italy and Sicily.

In 1845, after two years at the Sapienza and the College of Rome, he took priestly orders and came to America with letters from the congregation of the Propaganda. He tarried for a time in Boston and then went to Quebec where he served for one year as Professor of Church History in the Catholic Seminary, to which he had been called before leaving Rome. His first contribution to American history was a sketch of the life of Monsignor de Laval, the first bishop of Quebec, published, with a portrait, in that city in the winter of 1845-46. During this sojourn, Brasseur collected materials for two volumes, published in 1852, on the History of Canada, its Church and its Missions from the discovery of America to our own times. In the spring of 1846, he returned to Boston and remained there until the end of that year, perfecting his knowledge of English.

"In this city," said the Abbé, "a Frenchman always hears with pleasure the praises of an illustrious compatriot, Cardinal Cheverus, the first bishop. As for myself, Boston will never cease to be especially dear to my memory, on account of the generous hospitality which I received from Monsignor Fitzpatrick and from his worthy predecessor, Monsignor Fenwick, whose memory is cherished by all who knew him. It was in Boston that I first became acquainted with the American Indians, and first read the History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Mr. William Prescott. The reading of this delightful and instructive work helped to persuade me that my scientific calling was in the American field."

Fifteen years before this, when Brasseur was a mere youth, he had read, with juvenile credulity, in the *Gazette de France*, of the discovery in Brazil of a tomb containing arms and a helmet of Macedonian origin, with an inscription in the Greek language. "From that time," he says, "he began to feel a lively interest in all new geographical facts relating to America." In the *Journal des Savants*, he had read an account of Rio's description of the ruins of the ancient city of Palenqué, in Guatemala. Brasseur says this account decided for him his archæological calling. These early influences together with the fame of Champollion's researches in Egypt, gave the young man a strong bias towards American archæology; but it was the reading of our own Prescott, in the city of Boston, in the year 1846, that finally and definitely turned the mind of the young ecclesiastic towards Mexico and Central America.

Appointed Vicar-General by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, Brasseur first returned to Rome to represent the Catholic Church of North America at the Papal court of Pius IX. Brasseur spent two winters in Rome devoting himself seriously to the study of American history. The library of the Vatican offered him its rich sources of information. There he examined the great work of Lord

Kingsborough, in nine folio volumes, on the Antiquities of Mexico. He also consulted the famous Mexican Codex, and a great number of rare documents preserved in the library of the Propaganda. Most interesting to him was the Codex Borgia, which he had found mentioned in the writings of Humboldt.

The revolution of 1848 was the occasion of Brasseur's leaving Rome and France for a second voyage to America. He visited New York, Niagara, and some of our interior cities. By way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, following the grand route of the old French *voyageurs* and mentally criticizing the fanciful descriptions of Chateaubriand, he went to New Orleans, whence he soon took passage for Mexico. He met on shipboard M. le Vasseur, the French Minister, and went with him from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, where the young archaeologist became the almoner of the French Legation. This position gave him a fine opportunity to study the history, manners and customs of the native Indian population, in which labors he was assisted by the director of the national museum, by the custodians of the vice-royal archives, and by the librarian of the University of Mexico.

In 1850 he travelled extensively in the interior provinces and devoted himself to a study of native dialects under the guidance of a professor in the College of San Gregorio, who professed to be a descendant of a brother of Montezuma. During these studies and travels in Mexico, Brasseur de Bourbourg made a fine collection of books, manuscripts and works of art and archaeology. He became well versed in American antiquities, on which he was to become one of the chief European authorities. Feeling himself sufficiently master of his subject, he published in 1851, in the city of Mexico, in both French and Spanish, a work entitled "Letters Introductory to the Primitive History of the Civilized Nations of North America." He called this work the first fruit of his labors in Mexican history and archaeology.

This book is now very rare, but a copy of it, presented by himself, is preserved in the library of Harvard College. This valuable contribution to American antiquities first gave Brasseur de Bourbourg an honored place among American archæologists, and made him known to Mr. E. G. Squier of New York, and M. Aubin of Paris, at that time the leading French authority upon Mexican antiquities.

In 1851 the Abbé returned to Europe and worked for two winters at Rome, in the Vatican library, prosecuting his archæological studies. In 1854, he crossed the Atlantic ocean for the third time. He visited Washington and there met Schoolcraft and Peter Force, who showed him the texts of Las Casas and Father Duran, copies of whose writings had been obtained from Madrid. The Abbé sailed in October from New York for Central America. Crossing the States of Nicaragua and San Salvador, he came in February, 1855, to Guatemala. The archbishop of that State, desiring to favor Brasseur's archæological and linguistic studies, appointed him ecclesiastical administrator of a great Indian village, Rabinal, where he lived for over a year, and enjoyed singular opportunities for a study of the natives. Here it was, he says, amid a population of seven thousand people speaking the Quiché language, that he learned not only to speak and write it, but to translate the most difficult documents. He gained the confidence of the Indians and in talking with them about their history, gradually learned their early traditions.

He took numerous excursions into different parts of the country for the purpose of learning local dialects and exploring the archæological remains of early civilizations. In the course of his travels in Central America he discovered many rare old manuscripts. The fruit of all these discoveries and original studies he began to publish in Paris, in 1857, in four volumes, completed in 1858, entitled *The History of Civilized Nations of Mexico and Central America during the Centuries before Christopher Columbus.*

"This work," he said, "was written from original and unpublished documents, drawn from ancient and native sources."

Mr. Winsor calls this the most important work of Brasseur de Bourbourg. Winsor says, "This was the first orderly and extensive effort to combine out of all available material, native and Spanish, a divisionary and consecutive history of ante-Columbian times in these regions, to which he added from the native sources a new account of the conquest by the Spaniards. His purpose to separate the historic from the mythical may incite criticism, but his views are the result of more labor and more knowledge than any one before him had brought to the subject. In his later publications there is less reason to be satisfied with his results, and Brinton even thinks that 'he had a weakness to throw designedly considerable obscurity about his authorities and the source of his knowledge.'¹ His fellow-students almost invariably yield praise to his successful research and to his great learning, surpassing, perhaps, that of any of them, but they are one and all chary of adopting his later theories."²

In 1859, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg was sent by the French government to Central America for the purpose of investigating its history, geography and antiquities. He visited, among other regions, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Guatemala, Chiapas and Mexico. He returned to France in October, 1860, after an absence of eighteen months, bringing with him valuable manuscripts and many things of interest. In 1861, he began to publish a great collection of original documents in the native languages of Central America for the illustration of their history and philology. This collection, in three volumes, octavo, was completed in 1864. Most important was the *Popol Vuh*, the sacred or national book of the Quichés, with their myths, traditions

¹ Brinton, *Aboriginal American Authors*, p. 57.

² Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. I., p. 171.

and heroic literature. In his preface to this work, the editor said that it was the first native American book to enter the paths of science, which had been open so long to similar works having their origin in the Orient. Brinton, in his *Myths of the New World* (p. 41), says, "Internal evidence proves that these legends [which compose the *Popol Vuh*] were written down by a converted native sometime in the seventeenth century. They carry the national history back about two centuries beyond what is professedly mythical." The sacred book of the Quichés was originally and imperfectly translated by a Dominican monk, Father Francisco Ximenes, about 1725. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg made a fresh translation, and says that his critical work was the result of original studies among the Quichés and other tribes in the year 1860. His work embraces the Quiché text, with a French translation, accompanied by commentaries and philological notes. In the same series with the *Popol Vuh*, Brasseur de Bourbourg published a grammar of the Quiché language in French and Spanish, with illustrations of local dialects; also the Spanish text and French translation of the now famous *History of Yucatan* by Diego de Landa. A manuscript copy of this work, written by the first Spanish bishop in Central America, Brasseur discovered at Madrid, in the library of the Royal Academy of History. Landa's description of the ancient phonetic alphabet of the Maya language Brasseur found useful in interpreting the Troano manuscript, and both works were used by him for the decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions upon the temples of Palenqué, Copan and other famous monuments. In connection with this history by Landa were published various historical documents with a grammar and vocabulary of the Maya language, and also an essay on the sources of the ancient history of Mexico and Central America.

In September, 1864, the Abbé was appointed member of a scientific commission for the historical and archaeological

exploration of Mexico and Central America. At this time the French government was endeavoring to establish political ascendancy in that region. From the days of the Alexandrine Conquest of the Orient to the English conquest of India, men of science have profited by military expeditions. The Abbé had carefully planned in advance the lines of exploration, for in the meantime he had visited Central America again in 1862. He and his artist companion, M. Henri Bourgeois, went now to Yucatan. The explorers devoted several months to the study of the wonderful monuments and splendid ruins of that early seat of native civilization. The illness of the artist prevented the perfect execution of the Abbé's project, but he was able to visit many of the most interesting historic sites, pyramids and ruins of Central America and Mexico. He remained in those regions for about a year, encountering many difficulties on account of the political complications of France with the New World. The Emperor Maximilian endeavored to persuade Brasseur to remain in Mexico, and become the general superintendent of museums and libraries and the minister of public instruction, but the Abbé declined.

Although the French expedition was a political failure, the scientific results were of great value and are largely due to the intelligent labors of the man who was already master of the field. The archives of the commission contain several articles from his pen, among others his *Sketches of History, Archæology, Ethnography and Linguistics*, designed for the general instruction of the Mexican expedition; *Letters upon the peninsula of Yucatan*; *Report on Yucatan and the Ruins of Ti-hoo and Izamal*; and a report on the Ruins of Mayapan and Uxmal. Another interesting result of the French expedition was an illustrated work on the Ancient Monuments of Mexico, which was published in parts from 1864 to 1866. The text was furnished by Brasseur de Bourbourg and the designs by M. de Waldeck.

The Abbé Brasseur returned home by way of Cadiz and Madrid. There he found a native American manuscript, now known as the manuscript Troano from the name of its owner, Don Juan de Tro y Ortolano, Professor of Palæography in the Madrid University, who allowed the Abbé to copy and publish the text. It was issued in two volumes, quarto, in 1869 and 1870, by order of the Emperor Louis Napoleon and under the direction of M. Duruy, minister of public instruction. The first volume contains an explanation of the graphical system of the Maya language, with a vast number of facsimile reproductions of their pictorial art. The second volume contains a grammar, vocabulary and choice selections from the Maya language. In his prefatory letter to M. Duruy, the Abbé explains the linguistic relation of this manuscript Troano to the Maya alphabet described in Landa's History of Yucatan. The Abbé's somewhat fanciful interpretations have exposed him to many attacks from critics, but he published a final explanation and defence of his work in the *Revue Archæologique* for March, 1870, and October, 1871, and in the preface to his catalogue, published that year. Dr. D. G. Brinton condemns the tendency of Brasseur to make American mythology the apotheosis of history, but while regretting the use made of good materials, he says, "all interested in American antiquities cannot too much thank this indefatigable explorer for the priceless materials he has unearthed in the neglected libraries of Spain and Central America and laid before the public."¹

In December, 1872, the Abbé was commissioned to collect in Spain and South America a list of all the documents which concerned American antiquities, but in consequence of political events in Spain, he was not able to complete this work and returned to France in May, 1873. From this time his health, already somewhat impaired, became more feeble. He continued, however, his literary labors

¹ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 41.

and occupied the last year of his life in putting into perfect order the various parts of a catalogue, which was to describe all the collections of documents relating to the ancient history of America and preserved in the libraries of Spain. Notes for this catalogue had been furnished the Abbé by a Spanish scholar, Don Tomas Muñoz. The Abbé visited Rome for the last time in December, 1873, only about three weeks before he died at Nice.

II.

REMINISCENCES.

My acquaintance with the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg was formed in 1873 at the Hotel della Minerva, close by the Pantheon. One evening in the reading-room I met an English Catholic priest, who had come to Rome to defend the property of certain English Catholics, resident in Italy, from encroachment or confiscation by the Italian government. I asked him some questions about Roman Catholic doctrines, in which I was historically interested, and he not only answered my queries with great kindness and intelligence, but introduced me to certain other ecclesiastics, who were either staying or visiting at our hotel. They could all talk French or a little English, and I used to play chess with some of them after dinner. In the daytime I visited Roman churches under their instructive guidance, and of course received by the way many intelligent explanations of Catholic institutions and ceremonies. I was invited to dine with the president of the College of the Propaganda, and was on the way to a blessing from the Pope, when I suddenly determined to leave Rome. I was taken, the night before my departure, to the Pantheon, which was dimly lighted with tapers, while the moonlight struggled in through the round opening in the roof of that old pagan temple now converted into a Christian church. There to and fro with me walked my friendly priest, who had gone

over from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and he talked Roman Christianity by the hour. At last he held me firmly by the hand and made me promise that at least I would always cultivate the society of good Catholics in Germany and America, even if I would not stay in Rome and study history at the college of the Propaganda.

Among the regular guests at the hotel, to whom I had been introduced by my English friend, was M. l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. At his right hand, I had the honor of sitting every day at *table d'hôte*. I found him the most interesting man I had ever met, for up to that time I had never encountered a true cosmopolitan. The Abbé told me that he spoke twelve different languages and had a reading acquaintance with more than twenty. Judging from his perfect command of English, German and Italian, I thought him a master of tongues. I heard him converse with persons of different nationality and apparently with as much ease and facility of expression as when he talked English with me. He said he had visited New England in his earlier years and knew Boston well. He recalled in a humorous way his dreary experience in that once Puritanical city of a Sunday afternoon, when he endeavored in vain to hire a carriage to visit some ecclesiastic in the suburbs.

He talked a great deal about his travels and archaeological studies in Mexico and Central America. The point which impressed me most was that, in his opinion, many of the truths of modern science had been anticipated by the learning of those early peoples. He also impressed me with the fact that he never should have been able to obtain access to the rare collections of manuscripts and antiquities in Spanish America unless he had been a good Catholic. He said this with a kind of merry twinkle in his eye, which made me think he was something of a diplomatist and man of the world as well as a man of science and religion. He tried to persuade me to stay in Rome to study history, art and archaeology. He said one could have as much intellectual

liberty in Italy as in Germany. It was only necessary, he thought, to have one's feet upon the rock of the historic church; one could then be as liberal and progressive as he pleased; the Church had room enough for scholars and scientific men; it was not necessary for a man educated at a Catholic institution in Rome to become a priest, or to devote himself to ecclesiastical interests. "For example," he remarked, "I am an Abbé in the Church but my ecclesiastical duties have always rested very lightly upon me." This too he said with a pleasant and rather amused expression.

He was a strikingly handsome man, with a good head, keen eyes, a very intelligent and attractive face, tall stature and courtly manners. He seemed to me a kind of scientific Talleyrand. You may imagine the personal influence which this most fascinating, scholarly Abbé exerted upon me, a young and inexperienced Puritan, fresh from Massachusetts and Amherst College. Every day after my return from walks in and about Rome he would renew his charming conversation and tell me of his own travels in America. He never failed to lead the conversation back to Rome and the historic attractions of the eternal city. He gave me many valuable suggestions concerning objects of historic interest and places that I ought to visit. Sometimes we breakfasted together and I started out upon my morning rambles with words of helpful direction from the learned Abbé.

I stayed in Rome several weeks and it has sometimes been a source of wonder to me whether I should not have stayed there always, if I had been less of a New England Puritan. One of my classmates, Wyman, who went from Amherst College to Brown University in 1870, became a Roman Catholic priest under the influence of the historical lectures of that most catholic of all Americans whom I have ever seen or heard, the late Professor J. L. Diman, who in 1879, gave a remarkable course of twenty lectures in our Johns Hopkins University upon the Thirty Years' War,

to the delight of Roman Catholics and the edification of Protestants. I believe it was said of Professor Diman that he was a Congregational minister, who married a Unitarian wife, had a pew in an Episcopal church, and taught Roman Catholic doctrines in a Baptist university! He was undoubtedly a broader Catholic than my cosmopolitan friend, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. I have never thought of the two men before in the same connection, but surviving memories of our well-known American scholar may perhaps give his countrymen some approximate idea of the genial character of the accomplished Frenchman, whom I was probably the last American to see.

III.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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de France, 1875. Suggestive materials for a biographical sketch of Brasseur de Bourbourg have been found in the prefaces to his own writings, particularly in the first volume of his "*Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*" and his "*Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémaliennne*." An article on "The Abbé Brasseur and his Labors" by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, appeared in Lippincott's Magazine, January, 1868. Frequent mention, both critical and appreciative, is made of the Abbé by Dr. Brinton in his "Myths of the New World" and his "Aboriginal American Authors." Suggestive reviews of Brasseur's services to science may be found in Dr. Brinton's "Critical Remarks on the Editions of Landa's Writings," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society XXIV. (Philadelphia, 1887), and "A Study of the Manuscript Troano by Cyrus Thomas, with an introduction by D. G. Brinton" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. V., Washington, 1882). Less skeptical of the scientific value of the Abbé's labors is the report made upon them by Dr. Samuel F. Haven to the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1870.

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Opuscules divers réunis, comprenant :

- 1° Aperçus d'un voyage dans les États de San Salvador et de Guatémala, lus dans la séance publique annuelle (de la Société de Géographie de Paris) du 17 avril 1857. 24 pp.
- 2° Notes d'un voyage dans l'Amérique Centrale, lettres à M. Alfred Maury, Bibliothécaire de l'Institut. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, août 1855. 31 pp.
- 3° Voyage de M. l'abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg à Tehuantepec, dans l'État de Chiapas, et son arrivée à Guatémala. Une lettre adressée à M. Brasseur par M. Vandegehuchte, ingénieur à Guatémala, avec une description topographique de cet État. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, année 1860. 24 pp. carte.
- 4° Quelques traces d'un émigration de l'Europe Septentrionale en Amérique dans les traditions et les langues de l'Amérique Centrale, lettre adressée à M. C. C. Rafn, secrétaire de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages. Décembre 1858. 32 pp.
- 5° Le mystère de l'île de Pâques, communication de M. V. A. Malté Brun à M. Brasseur de Bourbourg et réponse y relative, du 12 Janvier 1870. Extrait des Nouvelles Annales des Voyages.
- 6° Archéologie Américaine. Cours de M. l'abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (Soirées littéraires de la Sorbonne). Antiquités du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale, etc. Extrait de la Revue des Cours Littéraires de la France et de l'Étranger. Mai 1864. 10 pp. à deux colonnes.
- 7° Lettre de M. E. G. Squier à propos de la lettre de M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, insérée au cahier des Annales d'août 1855. 15 pp.

Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémallienne précédée d'un coup d'œil sur les études Américaines dans leurs rapports avec les études classiques et suivie du tableau par ordre alphabétique des ouvrages de linguistique Américaine contenus dans le même volume, rédigée et mise en ordre d'après les documents de sa collection Américaine par M. Brasseur de Bourbourg. Paris, Maisonneuve & C^{ie}, 1871.

In the introduction to this catalogue there are some interesting autobiographical statements by Brasseur regarding his early education at Ghent and Rome: "Les circonstances me firent venir à Gand, où je me retrouve, trente ans plus tard, imprimant le catalogue des documents réunis durant mes longues pérégrinations. C'est au séminaire de cette ville que, recueilli en moi-même sous la poussière d'une ancienne bibliothèque, dont mes supérieurs m'avaient fait l'honneur de me confier la réorganisation, j'appris à connaître et à apprécier les livres sérieux, qu'à peine on ouvre dans ce siècle de journaux insipides et de frivoles revues. Je n'eus pas l'avantage d'achever mon travail: mais ce que j'appris, en remuant ces trésors, est incalculable. Attentif, d'un autre côté, aux enseignements de doctes professeurs, j'accoutumai insensiblement mon esprit à une action plus grave et plus profonde et, ensuite, lorsque, à Versailles, sur la proposition de Mgr. Blanquart de Bailleul, depuis archevêque de Rouen, je fis le voyage de l'Italie et des pays voisins, je joignis, en les parcourant, pendant plusieurs

années, la pratique et l'observation personnelle à mes études antérieures. Niebuhr et Nibbi à la main, j'étudiai dans la société du sage Visconti, Rome et la campagne, tout en écoutant, à la Sapienza et au Collège Romain, les savantes leçons des professeurs dont la Ville Éternelle a toujours eu la primauté, sous l'administration paternelle de ses Pontifes-Souverains. Tour à tour disciple de Passaglia, de l'archéologue Secchi, du sagace Bresciani, si profondément versé dans les antiquités phéniciennes et préhistoriques de la Sardaigne, sa patrie; disciple de Perrone, dont la voix me fit entrer, depuis, dans l'Académie de la Religion Catholique, visiteur assidu de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, honoré de l'amitié et de la conversation des cardinaux Mai et Mezzofante, j'amassai peu à peu une variété de connaissances, dont l'ensemble s'enchaîna naturellement à celles que j'eus occasion d'acquérir plus tard au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale."

VOL. VII.

NEW SERIES.

PART 3.

Horace Davis -
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1891.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1891, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE Society was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by the
President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M.

The following members were present (the names being
arranged in order of seniority of membership):—

George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar,
Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine,
Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green,
Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis,
William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth,
Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith,
Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase,
Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Frederic W. Putnam,
Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, Henry S. Nourse,
William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, William W. Rice,
Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Frank P. Goulding,
James P. Baxter, Thomas Chase, G. Stanley Hall, John
McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill,
Charles P. Bowditch, Charles P. Greenough.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

As a part of the report of the Council, the SECRETARY
pro tempore read biographical sketches of ALPHONSO TAFT,
LL.D.; BENSON JOHN LOSSING, LL.D.; and LYMAN
COPELAND DRAPER, LL.D. In continuation of the report,
a memorial sketch of HAMILTON BARCLAY STAPLES, LL.D.,
was read by P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., and in further
continuation a paper on "The French Canadians in New
England" was read by Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., read his report as Treasurer, and the Librarian's report was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

All of these reports, as together constituting the report of the Council, were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On motion of HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M., a vote of thanks was given to the TREASURER for the sagacity and skill with which he had conducted the money affairs of the Society so as to secure an income of six per cent. on the invested funds.

The Society then proceeded to choose a president. A ballot being taken, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was unanimously re-elected.

A committee, of which Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., was chairman, was appointed to nominate a list of the remaining officers to be filled by election.

The report of the committee was as follows:—

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., of Boston.

Recording Secretary:

Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council, and the following

Councillors:

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.
REV. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.
FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven, Ct.
J. EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.
G. STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The report was accepted, and by vote of the Society the Secretary *pro tem.* threw a yea ballot for the officers named.

A letter from Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., regretting his necessary absence, was read by NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.

THE PRESIDENT:—"This communication is of interest. We all know how gladly Dr. PAIGE would be with us and we hope that he will be able to be so on future occasions."

The SECRETARY *pro tem.* reported that the Council had voted to recommend for membership in the Society the names of—

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, A.B., of Quincy.
REV. ENDICOTT PEABODY, LL.M., of Groton.
REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, of Worcester.
FRANCIS H. DEWEY, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES J. HOADLY, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

And as a foreign member,

ERNST CURTIUS, LL.D., of Berlin, Germany.

All of whom were duly elected on separate ballots.

An essay was then read by JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, A.M., entitled: "Illustrated Americana of the Revolution."

THE PRESIDENT said that Prof. FREDERIC W. PUTNAM was prepared to make certain announcements.

Prof. PUTNAM:—"I wish to call your attention to two important events in connection with the study of American archæology and ethnology. The first of these is, that by a decree issued in July last, the Government of Honduras placed all the ancient ruins within the borders of the Republic in the care of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology of Harvard University, for a period of ten years; giving to the Museum not only the charge of the antiquities in the country, but also the exclusive right of exploration, and permission to take away one-half of all the objects found during the excavations. It is probable that as the work of exploration goes on at the ancient ruins of Copan it will lead to the establishment of a school of American archæology in Honduras. We shall now be able, year after year, to carry on investigations and to train students and assistants in this important work.

"The other event is the establishment of a Department of Ethnology and Archæology in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. It has fallen to me to be appointed chief of that department, and I believe that we shall bring together in Chicago in 1893 an ethnographical and archæological exhibit of especial importance and interest to all students of anthropology. Among other plans is that of bringing to Chicago representatives of all the native peoples of the American continent, who will be living in their own habitations, surrounded by their own utensils and implements and carrying on their native occupations.

An effort will be made to represent the native people who were living on the continent four centuries ago, and furnish the means of making a comparative study of the natives from Greenland to Patagonia. In this connection we are making an extensive series of measurements and observations illustrative of the physical characteristics of the native peoples of America. We shall also exhibit a large amount of archaeological material obtained by special exploration, with models of mounds and earth-works. Our associate, Mr. THOMPSON, is making the moulds of portions of the façades of some of the immense buildings in Yucatan, and we hope to set up casts forty feet or more in length showing the different types of architecture and sculpture of those ancient structures. Besides all this we shall illustrate, so far as possible, the early man of America and the evidence of his antiquity. Not only shall we have these exhibits from America, but a great many from other parts of the world.

“I wish to call attention to the fact that the department under my charge is to have cartographical and historical sections in which will be illustrated our own American history, and that I shall be very much pleased if this Society will appoint a committee who will give me advice in relation to an historical exhibit which shall illustrate American history from the time of Columbus. I respectfully ask the President of this Society to name such a committee to advise what should be done for the historical part of the Exposition.”

Mr. HOAR:—“I move that the President be authorized to appoint a committee of five, of which he shall be one, to act in the capacity suggested by Professor PUTNAM, and that he take time to appoint it.” This was seconded by Dr. E. E. HALE, and was carried.

G. STANLEY HALL, LL.D., in presenting a paper by Dr. George Baur, on the recent expedition of the latter gentle-

man to the Galápagos Islands, spoke of the great value of the collections brought home by that gentleman, which embrace a large part of the *flora* as well as of the *fauna* of the islands. "It is too soon," he said, "to speak of the results of this expedition. Almost no collections have been made there since Darwin and later the *Challenger* were there. It has been said that as a result of his visit the theory of natural selection as applied to the origin of species and man became clear and definite in Darwin's own mind. I do not know how true that is, but this collection is certainly of great value. It will take years of study and examination on the part of experts in various parts of the world, to know the results. Those results will perhaps bear upon the work of this Society."

After presenting Dr. Baur's paper, Dr. HALL spoke as follows:—

"Passing to my own paper, I will only attempt to give a brief and extemporaneous description of the work involved in it.

"It is nearly six years since I began to experiment on the subject of ecstasy and trance. I will not attempt to give as full descriptions as we get of such American sects as the 'Jumpers' and the 'Barkers,' etc., which make ecstasy their chief cultus: I have tried to understand the subject historically, and I have been able to get into correspondence with two Buddhist colleges, and have found that the cultus of ecstasy is so central at present that they have places on the roof so arranged that they can sway until they get contact with the Infinite, or till they attain Nirvana. It is thought that is the best way to overcome worldly desires. As Mozoomdar himself told me and has since written me, they consider that a very central part of the cultus of the young men there. He even wished that it might be introduced into institutions here.

"Of course the historical matter is too well known for me to speak of it. We all know that this cult is a very ancient

one. The Buddhist sects differ from each other in the way in which perfect ecstasy is attained. There is a good and bad side to it. In the good, the elevation is so supernal that they get an insight into all the mysteries of the world. The ascetic, who is the result of years of systematic devotion, can actually attain contact with the divine. There is, as we all know, a spurious ecstasy. We attempted then to make a contact between the old primeval, prehistoric forms of which there are traces to be found in archæology, and the present interesting forms of it as a religious cult. Not to dwell upon intermediate stages, everyone knows how important ecstasy has been in the history of all religions, and how central it is. We know the Delphic oracle and the part it played there. With Plotinus it played a central part. He distinguished four stages of trance, and he was only able to attain the highest five times where perfect contact with the Infinite, as he thought, was reached, and revelation was made to him. But it became, after the death of Plotinus, when his pupils took it up, a cultus which spread and which survived in the mysteries of the middle ages to an extent hardly known. In some sects there were seven stages, and in some nine; but there was a distinct correspondence between the theological views of many sectaries and the different stages of trance. Each higher stage gave to the devotee an insight into a higher transcendental form of existence, until at last, as in Dante, you have touched the highest, the rose of dawn.

“Of course all savage tribes have these ecstasies. I am told by several anthropologists that there is not an Indian tribe known which has not an ecstasy cultus in some form, and in most of our Indian tribes which we have been able to study, the ecstasy reaches its acme just before marriage, where the young brave goes off into the woods and starves himself, and goes through various rites until he sees the vision of some ancestor, which, if it should correspond with the same vision that his own ancestor actually had, is a

happy circumstance for his own life. He then goes back with his own name, and with his character, and perhaps his purpose in life, fixed. Chastity and abstinence from food are essential to the rite. The fact that all the best braves must have had this vision shows what importance is attached to it.

“We all know that a great many religious reformers, Mahomet, Swedenborg, and even Joseph Smith, and others, had visions, and that these visions are physically conformable to the ancient forms of trance. The symptoms are well known. The first part of my work is to collect the typical cases so far as we can collect them from American sources and from history. The second part, which is briefer, is the experimental part. As many of you know, the experimental study of trance, under the name of hypnotism, has become almost an established part of a medical *curriculum* in France, where there is no medical school, I believe, which does not have it. The study of the last eight years has marked three very specific and definite results which are new to science. I will state these. The first is, that there is something which is best described as a tonic cramp of the attention, where the attention is brought to an abnormal focus. The person can then be easily tested. There are some who can read large letters through two thicknesses of cotton cloth, who, when the sun shines on it can read the same through seven or nine thicknesses. So in respect to vision there sometimes seems to be a heightening of vision from seven to nine fold. So in all matters. The matter of rapidity with which certain mental activities can be performed is tested, and can be greatly heightened. The matter of clearness can be greatly affected. There is a positive mental exaltation where a subject can do, under laboratory tests which no one would think of doubting for a moment, that which he could not do in the ordinary state. Therefore we call this the tonic cramp of the attention, for want of a better name. In this tonic cramp there

is a positive pole, or side, of the focus and a negative field. We often see the negative field where the attention is so sharply focussed on one thing that the energy all passes away from the rest of the body. The extremities, perhaps, become cold, and the person is insensible even to amputations. Even a leg has been in several cases cut off without sensibility. As a narcotic this form of hypnotism is thought to be safe. About one person in three is not at all sensible to it. Both the positive and negative fields vary greatly, as can be seen by our laboratory methods.

“The second point which seems to me established, is the fact of erethism, or the erectile function of any part of the circulatory system. Charcot has even showed photographs illustrating this. By fixing the attention on any part of the body you can bring about a dilatation of the veins of the skin to such an extent that the *serum* collects, and in a few rare cases a blister follows. This, of course, has been only in neurotic subjects. But that is an indication of what occurs in all individuals. If anyone places his finger in a water-tight apparatus, the action of the mind will so affect the fine capillary system as to cause the swelling or the decreasing of the volume of the finger or arm in proportion to the violence of the agitation so that it can be seen. Blood is withdrawn from any part of the body as the attention is concentrated on any other part. When it is concentrated on that part the limbs swell, the walls of the arteries expand. So much is this the case that in certain hospitals this has come to be a method of testing the patient's power of attention in certain forms of mental disease. An apparatus is fixed on which the patient is exactly balanced; and as he is able to concentrate his attention, the head end dips down, and the progress of the disease is measured by the inability of the patient to concentrate his attention, and so to tip the instrument down as much as he could before. Thus it is seen that the power of concentrating the attention creates an erectile state of the arteries which is entirely dif-

ferent from the venous enlargement involving inflammation. There is an expansion of the arteries, and a relaxation of the vessels which keep them tense. While expanding they increase the blood pressure, sometimes to the amount of several inches, as has been very well demonstrated.

"The third and last new factor which has been developed bearing on the study of ecstasy is, that whenever any portion of the nervous system or of the brain is in a state of ecstasy, all the processes known as fatigue are accelerated. Under the microscope it has been seen that there is a deterioration of the nucleus of the nerve cell, due to rapid expenditure of nerve force. This needs a great deal more elaboration.

"The contribution then to this historical subject, which modern science and the discussion born of it within the last eight years have yielded, are these three points, on which there is general agreement. First: The focussing of the positive and negative field of attention, which is exceedingly significant and of scientific utility. Second: The positive field of attention, which has the greatest power over the walls of the blood vessels, and can control circulation to a certain extent. And third: Whenever this goes on, the cells of the nerve centres involved are undergoing changes of deterioration. This process is so evident that if placed under a microscope it would be recognized by all.

"The conclusion has a certain moral result. It is in favor of that kind of cult or discipline or regimen, or whatever it may be called, the litany of which is steadiness and regularity, and against all the diatheses of spurtiness."

JOHN McKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., of Framingham, read a paper on the "Historic Burial Places of Boston and Vicinity."

THE SECRETARY *pro tem.* read a biographical sketch of the life of WILLIAM LINCOLN, the historian of Worcester, a former librarian of this Society.

THE PRESIDENT. "The various papers which have been

presented are now before the Society for its action."

Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL. "I should like to add a word. About three years ago I invited Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN to accompany me to the Granary burying-ground, to visit that tomb in which a large number of the ministers of the Old South were buried. I was anxious to ascertain whether any proof could be found of the burial of Thomas Prince who was supposed to be buried there. We had permission to open the tomb. Dr. GREEN, Mr. McDonald and I went down. I found nothing that could give us any information in regard to Thomas Prince. We knew that Mr. Willard and family had been buried there. We found the coffin of Joshua Huntington (?), who died about sixty years ago, but we learned nothing to add to the knowledge of the contents of that historic tomb."

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES. "I wanted to make one suggestion as I listened to Mr. HUNNEWELL'S remarks about the scarcity of the memorials of the French Revolution in the Louvre. The late Francis Gardner illustrated Carlyle's 'French Revolution' in a remarkable manner. On one occasion when I was ill he sent those books to me to look at. The three volumes of the text had notes explaining and illustrating all the literary allusions of the book. Besides that there were quartos of pictorial illustrations, which Mr. Gardner had gathered in several visits to Paris. As I recall them, there must have been at least a thousand plates in a half-dozen folio volumes. It made one of the most interesting pictorial things I ever saw. I wish it might be possible through the influence of this Society to obtain those volumes to place here among our treasures. They ought to be in a public institution."

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH. "It is my impression that they were raffled for at a charity fair some years ago."¹

¹ The volumes referred to were twelve in number, and were given by Mr. Gardner to the Fair held in Boston in April, 1871, for the relief of sufferers in the Franco-German war.—*Note by the Publishing Committee.*

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR. "Three or four years ago, I asked the members of this Society if any of them could find any traces of the publication known as the *Boston Daily Whig*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, father of the gentleman whom we have just elected a member, and Vice-President Henry Wilson. It was a paper of uncommon ability, and it contained the records of the rise of the political anti-slavery party which developed into the Republican party. It is one of the most important historical publications of modern times. Hon. CHARLES SUMNER made a special journey to Worcester to find it here. In the visit to Quincy which has been described, Mr. Adams, in a collection of literary properties discovered a complete set of this publication. It is now accessible to the public."

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D. "I am well aware that my name has been selected as Vice-President because I am the senior member of the Council. I was, I think, the youngest member of the Society, when chosen. I owed that kindness to my friends in Worcester. For a good many years, I felt as though I was the *enfant terrible*, whom the older gentlemen were kind enough to let come in. It is forty-two years since I read my first paper. I should hardly take the time to say this but for a reminiscence. At that time many of the gentlemen whose portraits are hanging here were then present; and I like to say that to the extreme kindness of Mr. HAVEN, then librarian, and other gentlemen I owe the taste for history which has been the happiest relaxation of my life. They used to let me come in and work in this matchless collection, much superior to anything I had known. I feel grateful for the honor conferred upon me."

On motion, the various papers and remarks which had been offered, were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE visitor to the Library will find excellent order prevailing throughout the building, the result of the intelligent labors of the Librarian and his Assistant. The mass of unbound matter, including much that is of great value, is constantly increasing, and it is to be wished that our binding fund might be sufficiently ample to secure the preservation of this portion of our treasures in a proper shape. The funds of the Society are well invested, yielding a net income of a little over six per cent. upon the par value of the securities.

Four vacancies in our membership have been caused by death since the last meeting of the Society.

Alphonso Taft was born at Townshend, Vt., Nov. 5, 1810. His grandparents on both sides migrated to Vermont from Worcester county, Mass. He was descended from Edward Rawson, the famous Secretary of the Massachusetts Province. His father, Peter Rawson Taft, was reared as a farmer, but afterward studied law, served for many years as a member of the Vermont Legislature, and was judge of the probate and county courts of Windham county. The son was reared upon the farm, but by special effort became fitted for Yale College, from which he was graduated, with high honor, in the class of 1833. He was for two years a tutor at Yale, graduated from the law school of that institution in 1838, and was immediately admitted to the Connecticut bar. In the following year he opened an office in Cincinnati, and during twenty-five years subsequently he had an extended practice, and was engaged in some cases of

the most important character. An effort having been made to set aside the will of one Charles McMicken who had devised half a million dollars to found a university for the free education of the youth of Cincinnati, Mr. Taft was engaged to defend the will. The case was tried in the U. S. Circuit Court, which sustained the will, and was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. The brief, prepared by Mr. Taft, is said to have been "a complete compendium of the law on the subject of religious and eleemosynary trusts, and reviewed all the decisions of the English and American courts [on this subject] from the statute of the 43d Elizabeth to the present time." The will was sustained. During his early residence in Cincinnati he served as a member of the City Council, and was active in efforts for the benefit of the city, especially for the building of railroads. He defended in court, successfully, a bill which was attacked as unconstitutional, authorizing the city to issue \$2,000,000 in bonds for the completion of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad. He was one of the incorporators of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, one of the first trustees of the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad, and for many years a director of the Little Miami Railroad. He did much to develop the system of street railways in his adopted city. In 1865, he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, to fill a vacancy, and held the office by re-elections, resigning in 1873. While he was upon the bench, a suit was brought to enjoin the school board of Cincinnati from abolishing the rule requiring the Bible to be read in the opening exercises of the public schools. Judge Taft read an opinion dissenting from the other judges, and taking the ground that the school board had power to abolish the rule; and that it should properly be stricken out, because the King James version was not recognized by the large Roman Catholic population, and because its doctrines were in part disbelieved by the Jewish portion of the citizens. The case was carried to the

Supreme Court of the State, which reversed the decision of the lower court and sustained Judge Taft. His opinion in this case lost him the nomination for Governor, as a candidate at the Republican conventions in 1875 and 1879, because it was alleged that the popular prejudice upon the subject would not secure for him the full strength of the party. In March, 1876, Judge Taft was called to the Cabinet of President Grant, as Secretary of War, and three months later was made Attorney-General. In April, 1882, he was appointed by President Arthur, U. S. Minister to Austria, and in the summer of 1884, he was transferred, in the same capacity, to the court of Russia, where he remained until the close of 1885. At St. Petersburg, he had a severe attack of typhoid pneumonia, and on recovering he returned to Cincinnati, where he resumed the practice of law, continuing it for about two years. In the autumn of 1889, his health compelled him to seek the salubrious climate of San Diego, Cal., where he died on May 2, 1891.

Judge Taft received the degree of LL.D. from Yale College in 1867, and was a member of its corporation for ten years from 1872. He married, in 1841, Fannie Phelps of Townshend, Vt., who died in 1852, leaving two sons. He married, in 1854, Louise M. Torrey, of Millbury, Mass., who, with her four children, survives him. He was elected to membership in this Society in October, 1876.

Benson John Lossing is a name familiar to all who are interested in United States History.

He was born at Beekman, Dutchess Co., N. Y., Feb. 12, 1813, and died on the 3d day of June, last. Left an orphan at the age of 11 years, he labored upon the farm for three years, when he was apprenticed to a watchmaker in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., with whom, at the age of twenty, he entered into partnership. At twenty-two, he became joint editor of the Poughkeepsie *Telegraph*, a weekly newspaper, and shortly afterward established the Poughkeepsie

Casket. He now acquired the art of wood engraving, to illustrate his paper, and in 1838, removed to New York City, to perfect himself in the art of drawing. He was soon invited to edit and illustrate *The Family Magazine*, said to be the first American illustrated periodical. His first literary work of importance was an Outline History of the Fine Arts, which formed one of the volumes of Harper's *Family Library*. In 1847, he issued a history of the Revolution, entitled "Seventeen hundred and Seventy-six." In 1848, he began his greatest work, "The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution."¹ He received the

¹ The following is a list of Dr. Lossing's works:—

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE FINE ARTS.
 SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX.
 PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION.
 LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.
 THE NEW WORLD.
 THE OHIO BOOK.
 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
 THE MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.
 PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS.
 MEMOIRS OF EMINENT AMERICANS.
 LIFE OF WASHINGTON.
 THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PHILIP SCHUYLER.
 THE HUDSON FROM THE WILDERNESS TO THE SEA.
 PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK OF THE WAR OF 1812.
 PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.
 PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.
 VASSAR COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDER.
 MEMOIR OF JOHN T. GREBEL.
 A HISTORY OF ENGLAND.
 MEMOIR OF ALEXANDER ANDERSON, THE FIRST ENGRAVER ON WOOD IN THE UNITED STATES.
 THE AMERICAN CENTENARY.
 OUR COUNTRY. Illustrated by Darley.
 STORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, FOR BOYS.
 MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF WASHINGTON.
 CYCLOPEDIA OF UNITED STATES HISTORY.
 BIOGRAPHY OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.
 HISTORY OF NEW YORK CITY.
 MARY AND MARTHA WASHINGTON.
 THE TWO SPIES.
 THE EMPIRE STATE.
 HOURS WITH LIVING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

honorary degree of A.M., from Hamilton College in 1855, and from Columbia College in 1870, and that of LL.D., from the University of Michigan in 1873. He was made a member of this Society in October, 1872. He died at his home on Chestnut Ridge, Dover Plains, N. Y., where he had lived with his family for some twenty years previously.

Lyman Copeland Draper, who has been styled "The Western Plutarch," died at his home in Madison, Wis., August 26, 1891, at the age of 77 years, 11 months and 9 days. He was born September 4, 1815, in the little town of Hamburg, now Evans, in Erie county, N. Y., and was of the fifth generation from James Draper, who, about the year 1650, came from England and settled at Roxbury, Mass. His paternal grandfather was a soldier in the war of the Revolution; his maternal grandfather fell in the defence of Buffalo against the British, in December, 1813; and his own father, Luke, was twice incarcerated by the British during the second war with Great Britain. As a youth, he had but a meagre education, but was early interested in Revolutionary lore, and devoured with avidity such works of history or historical romance as he could obtain. In 1834, he entered Granville (Ohio) College, now called

At the time of his death he was engaged upon a work entitled "New York City; its Commerce and Industries."

Besides the above works, Dr. Lossing, in connection with the late Edwin Williams, compiled—

THE STATESMAN'S MANUAL.

THE NATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

A SKETCH OF MARTHA WASHINGTON.

THE LEAGUE OF STATES.

FIRST IN PEACE.

He arranged and fully annotated—

CUSTIS'S RECOLLECTIONS OF WASHINGTON.

McFINGAL, AN EPIC POEM OF THE REVOLUTION; by Trumbull.

DIARIES OF WASHINGTON.

THE OLD FARM AND NEW FARM; an allegory, by Francis Hopkinson.

POEMS BY WILLIAM WILSON, with a biography of the author.

In addition to these labors he edited for three years "The American Historical Record and Repertory of Notes and Queries."

Granville University, where he spent two years as an undergraduate. In 1838, he conceived the idea of writing a history of the Western pioneers, which should correct the errors which had been made by the early historians of the border; and, to that end, opened a correspondence and sought interviews with all the leading pioneers. In this service he travelled, often through dense wildernesses, over sixty thousand miles, having many narrow escapes by land and flood. The result of all this labor is shown by "two hundred and fifty partly volumes of manuscript, the greater part made up of wholly original matter, most of it as yet unpublished, covering the entire history of the fight for the Northwest, from 1742, the date of the first skirmish with the Indians in the Virginia valley, to 1813-14 when Tecumseh was killed and the Creeks were defeated."¹ The collection includes many diaries kept by the leading pioneers, in the original manuscript.

In October, 1852, he removed to Madison, by invitation of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and, about a year later, was chosen as its Corresponding Secretary. To his fostering care the society owes a large measure of its remarkable success. Its valuable "Historical Collections" were edited by him, and the society "is to-day practically what he, aided by the intelligent munificence of the Commonwealth, has made it."² His great individual published work was his "King's Mountain and its Heroes," published in 1881. "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" and several biographies of eminent pioneers, were nearly completed at the time of his death. He was a gleaner to the end, gathering into his storehouse, but taking little thought of marketing his crops.

In 1858 and 1859, Dr. Draper served as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to the great benefit of the

¹ From a biographical sketch by Reuben G. Thwaites in the *Magazine of Western History*, January, 1887.

² *Ibid.*

cause and the State. He secured the passage of an act of the Legislature making liberal appropriations for a township library-fund; but the financial exigencies of the State during the Rebellion led to its repeal. He was made M.A. by Granville University in 1851, and LL.D. by the University of Wisconsin in 1871. His fellowship with our Society dates from October, 1877.

Hamilton Barclay Staples, was born in Mendon, Massachusetts, February 14, 1829. His ancestors were conspicuous among the early founders of that township, and the sturdy qualities of character for which they were noted have been perpetuated through eight generations of their descendants; some of whom have remained cultivators of the soil in their native town, while others have won honorable distinction in other places and in other walks of life. The father of the subject of this notice was a farmer, though with little love, it is said, for that vocation. He was passionately fond of history, and devoted large portions of such leisure as he could command, to the reading of his favorite authors in that department of knowledge; he was well known among his fellow-townsmen for his general intelligence and for his active interest in town affairs and in the politics of his day, both State and national; he was a good talker and fond of debate; his voice was often heard in town meeting,—those little local parliaments, as they have been fittingly called, in which many of our eminent statesmen have received their first lessons in parliamentary debates and as experts in parliamentary law. The mother of our late associate was a woman of deep religious convictions and elevated Christian character. She was a constant reader of the Bible and sought to implant its exalted ethical and religious precepts in the minds and hearts of her children. If there be any truth in the law of heredity, it cannot be difficult, with a knowledge of these traits in the character of the parents, to trace to their true source the distinguish-

ing qualities in the mind and character of the 'son. His boyhood was that of the ordinary country boy, living in the typical one-story farmhouse, and doing a little light work on the farm in the spring, summer and fall, and attending the district school during the winter. He early evinced a love of books; and was often found with some favorite volume in hand, while his companions were engaged in their youthful sports. He also early developed a love for extemporary speech in addresses of more or less serious import, to his young associates. These few traits and incidents in the character and life of the boy, have been referred to, because of the light they cast upon the matured character and life of the man. His life was a serious one, having clearly defined and fixed objects in view, and for the attainment of which, his wisely directed labors were unremitting. Impelled by a strong desire for a broader education than the schools of his native town afforded, he began a preparatory course of studies at the Worcester Academy, and at the age of eighteen entered Brown University, and graduated from that institution with the second highest honor of his class in 1851, at the age of twenty-two. Soon after graduating he began the study of law in the office of Chief Justice Ames, in Providence, Rhode Island, and afterwards continued his legal studies in the office of the Hon. Peter C. Bacon, late of Worcester. He was admitted to the bar in 1854, and immediately thereafter opened an office in the town of Milford, which was originally a part of his native town of Mendon.

He remained in Milford fifteen years, and during that period he was, at different times, associated in business with several well-known members of the bar in that part of the County. During those fifteen years Judge Staples, by his industry and fidelity, and by the skill and learning displayed by him in the management of cases in Court, and by the wisdom of his counsel to clients seeking his advice, made steady and sure progress in his professional reputation,

and acquired that practical knowledge of the law, which enabled him the more easily to attain the leading position which he held when he left the bar for the bench.

In 1869, he removed to Worcester and formed a partnership in the practice of law with Frank P. Goulding, Esq., of this city. This firm took high rank as one of the leading law firms of the State.

In 1873, Judge Staples was elected District Attorney for the Middle District, one of the largest and most important in the Commonwealth. He held that office by successive elections eight years; and it is no exaggeration of his merits as a criminal pleader, to say, that he had no superior among all the distinguished prosecuting officers of the State, including those who held the office of Attorney-General, during his term of service. He served two or more years as a member of the City Council, and was a Trustee of the City Hospital, and he held, from time to time, other positions of trust and responsibility, to all of which he rendered faithful and efficient service, under a high sense of the duty which he owed to the community in which he lived. In 1881, he was appointed an Associate Justice of the Superior Court of the Commonwealth, to fill a vacancy created by the resignation of his kinsman, the late Judge Francis H. Dewey; he held that office at the time of his death, August 2, 1891.

He was elected a member of this Society in 1878. He regarded the election as an honor and as a gratifying recognition of his merits and reputation as a scholar. He took a deep interest in the work of the Society; and original papers from his facile pen will be found in the published proceedings of the Society for the years 1879, '82, '84 and '88. They are entitled: "A Day at Mount Vernon in 1797"; "Origin of the Names of the States of the Union"; "The Province Laws of Massachusetts"; a brief but interesting paper on the "Sword of Fitz-John Winthrop, sometime a captain in Monk's army"; "La Salle's monu-

ment at Rouen," &c. All these papers show careful research and a clear and chaste style in the statement of facts and opinions—together they form valuable additions to the publications of the Society.

In 1884, the University from which he graduated conferred upon Judge Staples the degree of LL.D.

He was twice married; first, in 1858, to Elizabeth A. Godfrey, the step-daughter of Hon. Benjamin Davenport, of Mendon; and after her death in 1867, he married, the following year, Mary Clinton Dewey, a daughter of Judge Charles A. Dewey, late of Northampton, who for nearly thirty years was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. The only members of his immediate family surviving him are his widow and son, Francis Hamilton Staples, who is now an undergraduate in Brown University.

Judge Staples with his family made two visits to Europe and travelled extensively on the Continent and through England and Scotland. The foregoing is a brief statement of the leading objective facts and incidents in his busy and strenuous life of sixty-two years.

A slight acquaintance and occasional conversations with him were sufficient to show that he was a man of scholarly habits and tastes. He loved knowledge and he loved the pursuit of it. He was a diligent reader of good books and was especially fond of historical and metaphysical writings. His mind was eminently analytical and he sometimes carried the process of analysis into such remote and refined distinctions as to endanger if not impair the soundness of his judgments. Analysis can never add anything to our mental conceptions; it can only discover their contents. It is only by the synthetic grasp of related facts by the understanding, that the sum of knowledge can be increased and become the basis of safe and valid judgments. I do not mean to imply that Judge Staples did not possess this power, but that by his very acute analytical processes, he sometimes failed

to attain the best mental results of which he was capable.

He was ambitious—he loved distinction, and he bore his honors with a conscious pride and becoming dignity. But the objects of his ambition were worthy, and he sought their attainment ever and only by honorable means. He highly prized the good opinion of his fellow-men, and was keenly sensitive to adverse criticism. There was, however, something which he valued more than the approval of others, and that was his own self-approving conscience; and in the seclusion of his boyhood and by his severe struggles with limited pecuniary resources during the entire period of his collegiate life, he acquired the habits of self-reliance and independent action. His character and will were tested and strengthened early in the school of privation and self-dependence. A man with a character so disciplined may be often defeated; he can never be conquered.

His brethren of the Worcester County bar, by whom he was best known, have, since his death, placed on record their high estimate of his character both as a lawyer and judge. In their memorial of him they declare that “as a lawyer, he was, in the preparation of his causes for trial, quick of apprehension, industrious, minute and critical, patient and untiring. In actual trial he was alert, sagacious, and possessing an unfailing memory, courage, and powerful advocacy; he was a tower of strength to his clients and a formidable opponent. He brought to the bench a thorough knowledge of the common and chancery law and its application in practice. As a judge, he was dignified, patient, painstaking, discriminating, careful and always just. His judicial life was upright and unstained.”

To gain an adequate conception of the extent of that theoretical and practical knowledge of law here attributed to Judge Staples, it would become necessary to consider the extent of the jurisdiction of the court of which he was an Associate Justice. That court has original and exclusive jurisdiction of all felonies, and original or appellate

jurisdiction of all misdemeanors ; in other words, jurisdiction of every offence known to the criminal code of the State.

It has original and exclusive jurisdiction of all actions of tort, wherein the amount claimed exceeds a certain limit, and original or appellate jurisdiction of such actions when the amount claimed falls below that limit—in short, there is not an actionable wrong to person or property, which that court may not be called on to try. As a court of equity it has full and complete jurisdiction. It has exclusive original jurisdiction of all causes of divorce and nullity or validity of marriage. It has large appellate jurisdiction of appeals from the Probate and Insolvency Court and from other subordinate courts ; and besides these general powers, there are numerous statutes conferring upon the court special and extraordinary jurisdiction. It may well be doubted whether there is any other court, in any of the States, whose jurisdiction is at once so extensive and varied. And to say of our friend, that he was competent to deal with any and all of the innumerable questions likely to arise under this wide jurisdiction, would be to pronounce upon him, as a jurist, the highest possible eulogium. And to affirm that he failed in some respects, to reach the highest degree of judicial excellence, would be only to affirm that he was human. His administration of the criminal law was sometimes made the subject of criticism. It was thought that at times his kind and sensitive nature led him to treat convicted offenders with too much leniency ; that his reluctance to inflict pain, even upon the violators of law, made him for the moment forget the larger purposes of penal statutes to prevent crime and secure public order and safety. But if this was a fault in his judicial character, was it not one of those faults which lean to virtue's side ? It is undoubtedly the better judgment of those competent to form an opinion upon the subject, that so long as it is thought necessary to maintain upon the statute book a penal code, it should be administered with a firm and vigorous hand, and that those

who are called upon to pronounce its sentences should look to the law and to the public safety to discover their rule of action.

Whoever heard Chief Justice Shaw pronounce sentence upon a convicted felon, will remember never to have seen or heard him perform that painful duty, when he did not exhibit visible signs of deep emotion; but it was the man that wept, while the great magistrate declared the stern sentence of the law.

Turning now from Judge Staples's honorable public career to the remembrance of him in the private walks of life, it will, I believe, be the concurrent judgment of all who knew him best, that he was an accomplished scholar, whose tastes and scholarship had been assiduously cultivated and improved by study and association with the learned and refined at home, and by the larger opportunities of foreign travel; that he was an agreeable and instructive companion, with a warm heart and capable of the most genuine and permanent friendships, and that he was a lawyer of wide and varied learning; and that as a magistrate, he has left a reputation unsullied by a single unworthy deed, constituting as it does the richest legacy he could transmit to those of his own name and lineage.

For the Council.

P. EMORY ALDRICH.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

THE FRENCH-CANADIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY EGBERT C. SMYTH.

IN the last Report of the Council reasons were given why historical scholars should endeavor "to make their countrymen familiar with the history, traditions and institutions of Canada." The remainder of the present Report, for whose statements the writer alone is responsible, will be devoted to the French-Canadians in New England. An account will first be given of their numbers and organization and of the national hopes which are centered in them, and then a closer study attempted in the light of their origin, training and leadership.

For the facts communicated in the earlier part of what is thus submitted, the writer is indebted to two works to which it may not be amiss to turn attention. One is a thick, octavo volume, published at Lowell, and entitled *Le Guide Français des États-Unis*. It is compiled by Mr. A. Bourbonniere, Secretary of the *Société de Publications Françaises des États-Unis*, and appears the present year in its third edition. The other volume is: *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle Angleterre*, also an octavo, and numbering about five hundred pages. It was published in Quebec the present year, and is from the pen of a member of the Society of Jesus: E. Hamon, formerly an attractive Professor of Belles Lettres in the *Collège de Sainte Marie*, Montreal, and well known among his countrymen in New England and New York as a missionary or conductor of religious "retreats." The first part of this book gives a graphic sketch of the material and social condition of the French-Canadians in New England, together with an

ardent and eloquent plea for the preservation of their distinct nationality and for the agencies by which it is believed that this may be maintained. The second part contains a detailed history of a very large number of Canadian parishes in these States. No work is known to the writer which so fully and spiritedly introduces the reader into the life and aspirations of these French communities in New England.

In the preceding Report of the Council, already referred to, it was stated that "there are probably 1,250,000 Canadians now dwelling in this country." About one million of these people are French. Their diffusion is such that statistics are reported concerning them, though confined to the Roman Catholic division, from all but two¹ of the fifty-one States and Territories of this country, though in the returns Oklahoma is not distinguished from the Indian Territory. In Alaska there is a French-Canadian population of about three hundred; in the Indian Territory there are from five to six hundred. The chief centres are New England, where there are 362,396, or nearly eight per cent. of the entire population (4,700,745); and the State of New York, where there are 100,000, of whom 29,498 are voters. In Maine there are 52,986; in New Hampshire, 47,682; in Vermont, 31,467; in Massachusetts, 165,325; in Rhode Island, 37,338; in Connecticut, 27,598. These figures include only Roman Catholics. Probably at least 10,000 Protestants should be added, giving as the total French-Canadian population in New England, 372,396, or in round numbers, and recognizing that these returns are of a date from which we are rapidly advancing, towards 400,000. The valuation of property in the hands of the Roman Catholic portion is reported by the *Guide Français* to be in Maine, \$2,400,374; New Hampshire, \$2,599,451; Vermont, \$2,580,315; Massachusetts, \$10,900,604; Rhode Island, \$1,919,975; Connecticut, \$1,422,915; in all, \$21,823,634. The real estate held by the French-Canadian Roman Catholics in the country is

¹ Maryland and Washington.

estimated at \$105,328,500. The same authority reports as naturalized citizens, or voters, in New England, 33,563.¹ This is more than double the number returned in 1887. The number of proprietors has increased in the same brief period from 7,568 to 11,990, and their valuation from \$13,044,076 to \$21,823,364. The variety of employments which are pursued is noteworthy. A very large proportion work in shoe, cotton, or other factories, but no one of the ordinary trades and professions seems to be unappropriated. Besides carpenters, clothiers, grocers, bakers and other dealers in the necessities or customary conveniences of life, the ornamental arts are well represented, and enterprise has extended itself to a great variety of business employments. There are also commissioners of various kinds, justices of the peace, sheriffs, policemen, health officers, city councilors, inspectors of customs, registrars, members of legislatures, notaries, lawyers, doctors, journalists, teachers and clergymen.

The Canadian emigration is distinguished by Father Hamon into three classes, the temporary, the roving and the permanent. The first is composed of farmers who come here to obtain means to lift from their lands at home the mortgages which have settled upon them. This class constantly recruits the third. Though the parents recover their homes the children are discontented, and find their way back to the States, and whether they stay or go they become, voluntarily or involuntarily, propagandists in the old parishes of new migrations. Their example, their success, their brilliant descriptions of American life, the fine clothes they wear, excite the imaginations of their neighbors and acquaintances, so that often for one man who returns to Canada five will go to the States.² The permanent emigrants, we are told, come mostly from the rural districts, the Eastern counties,

¹ In Maine, 12,100; New Hampshire, 3,800; Vermont, 3,356; Massachusetts, 10,740; Rhode Island, 2,017; Connecticut, 1,550.

² *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre.*

the dioceses of Three Rivers and Rimouski. Father Hamon delineates vividly the process by which these *habitants* are transformed into successful operatives, the tenement-house is supplanted by the cottage, and a life of comparative material comfort and social advancement takes the place of the old Canadian poverty and restriction. Though the sketch needs toning down, it is doubtless in the main truthful, and is certainly attractive. If time permitted it would be a pleasure to read its bright and graphic description of French-Canadian life in Marlborough and Holyoke.

We have noticed thus far the concentration of the French-Canadian immigration in New England, and the diversified industries and professions into which it has extended itself. Equally worthy of observation is its organization. At the bottom, precursor and pledge of all besides, is the parish, which with important differences, to be noticed later, is transferred from Quebec to New England. With the parish and its church and presbytery come the convent and the parochial school. In New England and New York one hundred and twenty parishes with church buildings or chapels have been established during the past twenty years, and fifty large convents, where, with the other schools, there are taught more than 30,000 pupils. "Many others are in process of construction and will be soon opened." The parishes are served entirely by Canadian or French priests, using the French language, which is also the medium of instruction in the convents and schools.

Besides these institutions, promotive of a distinct and organized life, there are numerous societies which minister to the same end. Such are the religious associations composed of young women and of mothers, the congregations of the *Sainte Vierge* and the association of the *Dames de la Bonne Sainte Anne*, and for men the *Ligue du Cœur de Jesus*. The latter exists in one hundred and four parishes in Canada and the Eastern States, and numbers more than 38,000

members. Forty branches, with 14,000 members, have been added in the United States in five years. More important still for certain purposes to which we will soon allude is the wide-spread organization of *Saint Jean Baptiste*. Its motto is, *Notre Religion, Notre Langue, et nos Mœurs*. There are two hundred and ten of these societies in New England, with 30,540 members. The priest of the parish or some one appointed by him is now, by a somewhat recent change in their rules, the chaplain of the local association. The members must be French-Canadians, speak the French language, and be Roman Catholics. They cannot belong to any society disapproved of by the Church.

In addition to these organizations there are numerous religious orders and communities.

The first French-Canadian parish founded in New England and now enrolled was that of St. Joseph in Burlington, Vermont. It encountered in its beginning strong opposition from the Irish Catholics of that city, but in 1850 received the approval of Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston. In 1853, Vermont was made a separate diocese, and a man was placed at its head who became the prime mover in the work of organization whose results we have just stated. There were then in Vermont not a few Canadians, some of whom were descendants from men who had received lands on Lake Champlain for services in the war of Independence, and others had sought refuge over the border after the suppression of the insurrection in 1837. Bishop De Goesbriand, with an apostolic zeal and self-denial, after obtaining priests from Brittany in France, which he visited for this purpose, traversed with his assistants the mountains and valleys of Vermont, seeking those whom he regarded as sheep without a shepherd. At the close of our Civil War began the immigration which has attained so large proportions. Bishop De Goesbriand devoted himself indefatigably to the establishment of distinct French parishes, and to providing for them priests, teachers, churches and schools. No one can

read his fervent appeal, published in the *Protecteur Canadien* in 1869, without recognizing that a primary element in the great work of organization which has been accomplished was a burning religious zeal; and all that we learn of him from persons of intelligence outside of his communion accredits him with a pure Christian motive in his arduous and self-denying labors. He has had the trust in Providence which belongs to his order of greatness. "Providence," he wrote in 1869, "which governs the world, in this emigration which astonishes us, has views which are unknown to us. Let it work. It will know how to draw good from what seems to us evil." And again: "God in his Providence wills that nations be evangelized, at least generally, by apostles who speak their language, who know their habits, their dispositions; that the nations be evangelized by the priests of their own nation." The Church was aroused by the Bishop's faith and eloquence, and the policy of distinct French parishes, served by French priests, has now everywhere triumphed. As usual there have blended in the history, as it has developed, other motives and aims than those which, to say the least, were paramount in the minds of Bishop De Goesbriand and his little band of missionary priests. Father Hamon enables us to discover these without pains. In several chapters he discusses the question of the retention by his countrymen in New England of their distinctive nationality, and opposes vigorously the doctrine of the Baltimore Congress that "national societies as such have no reason for their existence in the Church of this country." The Canadians in this land, he contends, should be loyal to its government, but their hearts must remain true to their first love, their own nationality, a new France distinct in language, customs, traditions, aspirations, faith, if not in political organization. Even here we need not question that the religious end is ultimate, but from the Roman Catholic point of view this cannot be dissociated from the ecclesiastical, nor this entirely from the political.

Accordingly, our author emphasizes, with the preservation of the Catholic faith of his countrymen, and in the last analysis as subordinate to it, the retention by them of all that connects and identifies them in thought and feeling, in spirit and aim, with their brethren the other side of the border. The Canadian parish must everywhere be reproduced. The girls must be educated so that French will be the sure and indeed the necessary language of the home. The vision must never fade of a complete union in language and customs with the people whom they have left in their former home. The feasibility of the most intimate union of this sort, and the possibility of something more complete, and, to their national feeling, more satisfactory, are brilliantly depicted. The law of migration, we are told, is southward. The Canadian territory south of the Saint Lawrence is, in consequence, fast filling to repletion. Already its population overflows into the States. There will be an increasing tide of migration. It will be under full headway by another generation. The national disposition and the parochial organization of those already on this side of the line will hold them to their language, religion and customs, at least until there comes this great re-enforcement. Their connection with their mother country, the Province of Quebec, differentiates them from the French in Louisiana, isolated and remote from their ancient home, or from the Irish, or the German immigration. They are of a race tenacious of its characteristics, tenacious of a different civilization from the Anglo-Saxon. Soon the network of parishes spreading over New England will meet and unite with that which covers the Province of Quebec. There will be practically one controlling social and religious organization, whatever political distinctions may remain. Two possibilities arise in this latter regard. Either Quebec may become independent of the Dominion and of England, or it may be united with this country. In either event there are the strongest inducements to cherish the sentiment of French

nationality. It may be counted upon to endure at least for a hundred years. Then the United States will number more than a hundred millions of men. What possibilities are there of new divisions, new political organizations! In a word, the dream and the vision may at last be fulfilled of the new France.

We do not pause to consider what necessary reductions a sober criticism may make upon such schemes and hopes. Let these be as important as they may, there can be no question that a great power, controlled by ideas such as thrill and consolidate communities, is rising, and is already firmly organized and strongly connected and supported, within our borders. If eventually it is to be "Americanized," this will not come about unless the forces requisite for such a result are kept pure and operative. If it is to gain a greater independence and influence we need to understand its character.

Who are these swarming immigrants? What are their characteristics? What has been their training? Such questions deserve careful study. Some suggestions that must enter into a true answer to them are all that we can hope now to offer.

The French-Canadians are mainly descendants of the Normans and Bretons who came over from France in the seventeenth century. With them are to be associated settlers from Anjou, Poitou, Le Perche, L' Isle de France, officers of the crown, and soldiers, especially from the famous regiment of Carignan. The main French emigration is said to have closed about 1675. After 1672 no new regiment was sent out from France, though the old ones continued to be recruited and thus added somewhat to the number of the colonists. Some contrabands, not more than two hundred, are admitted by the same writer to have been sent over between 1700 and 1730.¹

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. III. Section I., pp. 13-28. Communication by Benjamin Sulte.

Some authors have contended that there is in this race a large percentage of Indian blood. This admixture is credited to the time of the earlier settlers, and traces of it are claimed with great confidence to be apparent in the features of many Canadians of the present day. Such a representation appears to be insufficiently grounded in what is known of the early history, and to involve a great exaggeration of what is now observable, or insecure inference from it. During the past year a distinguished scholar, the *Abbé* Tanguay, has published the seventh volume of his monumental *Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes*. It gives as complete a record as the learned author has found to be possible of every Canadian family down to the Conquest, to which are added some materials appropriate to later volumes which the author fears his strength may not enable him to finish. No such work is possible among ourselves, or from the English parishes, since the records are far less complete. In Canada they have been remarkably well kept and preserved, so that the boast is made that every descendant of the original settlers can trace his family history, in its beginnings in this country, in this Dictionary. At the close of the last volume, a list is given of whites known to have married Indian women during the preceding two centuries of Canadian history. They number ninety-four. The author claims that the children of these marriages were all dead before the close of the last century; that a few, but only a few, half-breeds from the West have married into the race, and that the mixed element is imperceptible in a nation of 2,000,000. There are a few families, we have in mind two, which are of distinction in public and social life, that are known to have Indian blood, and this fact excites the same sort of comment that attaches with us to the supposed descendants of Pocahontas. If it be suggested that the amount of admixture is much increased by unions and births not likely to be registered, it may be replied that such descents

belong rather to Indian than to Canadian genealogies.¹ A much more important fusion has taken place through intermarriages with the English, Scotch and Irish. The curious phenomenon is presented of neighborhoods and villages where the family names are Scotch, Irish or English, — people not a few, as an informant remarked, “who never could speak a word of English, descended from people who had never known a word of French.” Dr. Kingsford, who is publishing an elaborate and valuable “History of Canada,” attributes much importance to this absorption of foreign blood. He points out that at the time of the conquest the Canadian population numbered 60,000, of whom there were only about 15,000 males between sixteen and sixty years of age, and that by 1881, according to the census, there were in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario 1,176,563 French-Canadians. So great an increase he maintains could not have sprung from the men who yielded to the British invaders.² There has doubtless been a large absorption of foreign blood, yet the principal, the controlling strain is from the days of the French *régime* and from the sailors and farmers, the adventurers and soldiers, whose homes had been among the hills and on the plains and coasts of Brittany and Normandy and a few of the adjoining divisions of France.

Intelligent observers also claim that the Breton or Norman descent can still be plainly discriminated in particular districts or parishes. The Bretons are straight-forward, plain-spoken, strong-headed, even to obstinacy. A handshake over a bargain is as good as a bond. They are unsuspicious and easily deceived. The Normans are more polite, and somewhat slippery. Horse-traders, our informant

¹ For further discussion of this question reference may be made to a paper by Benjamin Sulte, *Prétendues origines des Canadiens-Français*, in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1885, Vol. III., Section I., pp. 13-28. For an article on the other side, see *ibid.*, Section II., pp. 1-21: “The Half-Breed,” by John Reade.

² *The History of Canada*, Vol. IV., pp. 501-504.

added, know which parishes to visit. After receiving his account of the characteristics of certain parishes where the Normans prevailed we happened to light upon Mr. Freeman's inventory, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of the qualities of the inhabitants of Normandy, and found the two descriptions almost identical in substance, with one important exception: Mr. Freeman, having in mind the Scandinavian conquerors of Normandy, the Northmen who gave to it its name, emphasizes their facility in being absorbed by other races. The Normans of the seventeenth century and their descendants in Canada seem to show the commingling with their Scandinavian parentage of a Gallic stock which is tenacious and persistent.

The parishes where the two sources can be distinguished, we suppose, are few and exceptional. The general French-Canadian type is formed by indiscriminate intermarriage among the early colonists. The people at large have clearly the usual French qualities, courtesy, vivacity, fondness for amusements, ready submission to traditional authority, adaptability, with a power of patient persistence for which not enough credit has been given. Their prolificness is phenomenal. Only in Prince Edward Island is the family ratio so high, either in the Dominion or the United States. From the beginnings of Canadian history, early marriages and large families have been promoted by rulers and priests. Louis the Fourteenth adopted vigorous and successful measures to secure these results. 'Cargoes of young women were regularly shipped to the colony. Any adult male not marrying was subjected to restriction. To be the father of a numerous family became a title to distinction and profit. The Archbishop of Paris instructed each *cure* in his diocese to learn what young women were willing to seek their fortunes in Canada. The King in their case certainly showed his beneficence. He not only trusted to the charms of these rustic beauties; but each one, on her marriage, was the recipient of a mark of royal favor: cattle, provisions, or the

means of constructing a house. Generally, in fifteen days, most of the new arrivals found partners, and the choice of a wife was enforced with all the auxiliaries of power. Young men who did not marry were forbidden to trade, hunt, or fish, or in any way enter the bush. The *Mère de l' Incarnation* tells us that as the selection was made, marriages were celebrated by thirties at the same ceremony. Nor was it by emigration alone that the promotion of marriage was attained. M. de Laval was called upon by the King to use his influence to induce the youth to marry at eighteen and the girls at sixteen. Twenty livres was the reward of the youth of twenty and of the girl of sixteen or under, who married. It was called *le présent du roi*. Fathers who did not marry their children were fined. A pension of three hundred livres [in a special edict] is promised to the *habitants* having ten children, no sex named; four hundred to those having twelve.¹ Such are the statements of a careful historian, Dr. Kingsford.¹ The policy thus begun is continued to the present time. Not long since the Quebec Legislature offered "a bounty of 100 acres of land to every head of a family of twelve living legitimate children." The first to avail himself of the offer was the speaker *pro tempore* of the legislature.² "Already," writes Dr. Prosper Bender, under date of July, 1890, "over one thousand applications have been made for the promised bounty." "In most homes" he further states, "there are from a dozen to sixteen children, and even as many as twenty-eight. Two prominent officials of the Province of Quebec are twenty-sixth children, and fine specimens of physical development and mental culture they are, too."³ "The Speaker of the House of Commons is the twenty-fourth child of a twenty-

¹ *History of Canada*, I., pp. 359-362.

² Report submitted to the U. S. Senate by Mr. Hoar, July 21, 1890, p. 1060.

³ *Magazine of American History*, Aug. 1890, pp. 132-133.

fourth child."¹ The most impressive evidence of the expansion of the French population is given in the statistics of population for the Eastern and other English townships in the Province of Quebec. "In 1831," we quote from the *Toronto Mail*, March, 1890, as reprinted in Senator Hoar's Report,² "The eastern townships contained 37,964 Protestant, *i. e.*, British settlers, and 4,242 Roman Catholics, of whom about 1,200 were Irish Catholics, leaving the number of French-Canadians 3,000 or thereabouts. In 1844, * * the figures stood 48,398 British and 14,622 French; in 1851, 60,199 British and 34,066 French; in 1861, 76,317 British and 60,319 French; in 1871, 72,591 British and 83,705 French; and in 1881, * * 77,805 British and 109,042 French, * * * In the other four English counties, the figures stand thus: In 1861, the British population was 48,650; in 1871, 49,754; in 1881, 54,410; whereas the French population in these years was 23,620, 33,795, and 46,518 respectively." A gentleman, born in France, but educated after thirteen in Quebec, remarked to the writer that a Canadian mother, with say four young daughters, will do all the hard work herself in order that her daughters, especially if pretty (and the average of good looks is high), may not impair their attractiveness for marriage.³

Comparatively speaking there is a good standard of morality among these people. Mr. Winans, when before the select committee of the U. S. Senate on Relations with Canada, when asked his opinion on this subject replied: * * "The insurance actuaries say that if the moral condition of the people of the United States was as high as that of the people of the Dominion of Canada, they would get their insurance at two-thirds of the price they now have to pay."⁴ He was asked at the same time concerning their intelligence,

¹ Senator Hoar's *Report*, p. 755.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1056.

³ For additional information, see President Amaron's *Your Heritage*, p. 42. *et seq.*

⁴ *Report*, p. 760.

but does not appear to have covered this in his answer. There has been marked improvement of late years in the educational system, yet the mass of the people have had the most meagre school training, and many who come to us are deplorably ignorant.

Their civil and political training, until very recently, has been from the outset under the maxims of absolutism. The feudal system, though without the military obligation of the vassal to his lord, was set up at once, and remained in force down to within the lifetime of present proprietors and renters of the soil.¹ The King governed through the Provincial Governor, and especially the Intendant. "During the days of French domination in Canada" [1608-1760], says an eminent authority, Mr. Bourinot, "we look in vain for evidences of self-government in any form, such as we see in the town-meetings of Massachusetts and in the counties and parishes of Virginia, or in other divisions of the old English colonies in America, in all of which we can see the germs of liberty and free institutions from the earliest days of their history. The system of government that was established on the banks of the St. Lawrence was the very opposite of that to which the people of New England always clung as their most valued heritage. While the towns-folk of Massachusetts were discussing affairs in town-meeting, the French inhabitants of Canada were never allowed to take part in public assemblies, but were taught to depend in the most trivial matters on a paternal government."² Nor was there any marked improvement or substantial change under British rule down to the time of Lord Durham, and the changes which took place in connection with the union of Upper and Lower Canada by the Act of 1840. More exactly, the period from 1845 to 1867 may be marked as the formative

¹ The *seigneuries* came to an end in 1854.

² *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, Fifth Series*, V.-VI., 1887. "Local Government in Canada, etc.," by John George Bourinot, Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada, etc., etc.

one for municipal organization, with local responsibility and self-government. The immigrants who flock to us to-day, and still more those who have preceded them for twenty or twenty-five years past, have had little or no experience in that method of responsible local government in which we have been trained from the start; nor in their ancient civil constitution is there anything correspondent, not only to the old English parish system, but to that intermediate agency between the crown and the people supplied by the country gentry, and which in English history has helped to prepare for more democratic institutions and methods of government. The Canadian *seigneur* is no equivalent for an English baron, nor even for an English squire. Until very lately there has been in Quebec, in civil affairs, almost nothing in institutions and classes in society, to prepare for popular liberty and true self-government. One result of this history is that the suffrage now bestowed is used with but a vague and low sense of its responsibility. To a lamentable degree it is venal.

A parish system has been in existence from the early times, and with its dependencies, it has been the leading educational influence in an institutional way. The people who could not meet in civil assemblies, met within the church or on its steps. So far as the doctrine or practice of the irremovability of the *curé* at the will of the bishop obtained he was a representative of a sort of autonomy among his parishioners, however completely he ruled them. Such intellectual, moral or spiritual quickening as they received came through the services of the parish church. Its spire determined the parish. Every church had its *fabrique*, or board of trustees, and its *marguilliers*, or wardens. Civilly the country was ruled through the *curé*, the *seigneur*, and the *capitaine*. The circle of notables was likely to be larger for church affairs, and more diffusive of thought and the sense of community. Yet in this sphere, as in the civil and military, there was but little range for freedom of

action. The system of tithing for the support of religious institutions was early established. There has been a long and earnest dispute whether before the Quebec Act of 1774 such assessments had a legal force. A recent discovery of a royal edict is said to have settled the question affirmatively. Under this system all such dues were imposed without any consent direct or indirect of the party upon whom they fell. Taxation in the Church as in the State, and by the power of the State, was without representation. So that here too there was no effective or real autonomy even in respect to the secularities of religion.

Time does not permit any sketch of the history of municipal or parochial life in French Canada. A glance at some of their features as now constituted is all that can be attempted.

The Province is divided into twenty judicial circuits, and into sixty-five counties, or electoral districts. These are subdivided into cities, towns, parishes and villages.

A village is not a municipal corporation and has no proper council, but is regulated by that of the parish. Ordinarily it is the place where the church building is located, though sometimes there are two villages in a parish: one, where the church stands, that is the centre of religious administration; another, where the civil administration has its seat. As a rule the village is that part of the parish where the church is located, and the Commissioners' Court is held, a court which deals with all contested claims for twenty-five dollars or less, excepting actions for tort. The commissioners are three in number and are appointed by an order in Council, that is by the Lieutenant-Governor and his cabinet. At such a centre may be found the post-office and school-house, the priest, beadle and schoolmaster, the doctor and notary, the shoemaker and grocer.

Towns are incorporated by act of legislature. The law requires a population of 3,000, but this is not rigidly

enforced. It has power to appoint its own mayor and councillors, and to levy local taxes. The number of councillors depends on the number of *quartiers*, or districts, prescribed in the charter. The mayor is *ex-officio* a justice of the peace for cases originating in the town. With the councillors he is elected in January by the voters, who must have discharged their taxes, and must own property to the value of fifty dollars, or at least pay a rent of twenty dollars on land in town. Considerable interest is taken in the election, which has been enhanced by the fact that poor people have often secured the payment of their taxes by the candidates, though now that the secret ballot is introduced the transaction is not so sure in its issue as formerly. The experience of the people in municipal government is quite recent, not being fully entered upon until 1867. Every town and parish is represented by its mayor in a county council. The chairman of this council is called the warden. "It regulates," says Mr. Mercier,¹ "all questions interesting more than one municipality, decrees the erection of certain territory into municipalities [*i. e.*, associates certain sections for purposes of taxation in matters of common interest], and decides on appeal certain contestations arising out of affairs of the local municipalities." County roads are under the control of the county; what are called concession roads are under that of the parish.

A parish is a village or villages, or part of such, with the surrounding concessions, approved by the bishop of the diocese. The moment it has three hundred inhabitants it can become a municipality, or civil corporation, without resort to the legislature. It is organized for civil purposes by the choice, by the taxpayers, of seven councillors who elect from their own number a mayor.² The authority of

¹ *General Sketch of the Province of Quebec.* By Hon. Honoré Mercier, Premier of the Province. Quebec, 1889. [Published in *Canada: A Memorial Volume.* Montreal, 1889.]

² "The powers of the municipal councillors," says Mr. Mercier, "embrace the making and maintenance of roads, public works of a purely local nature, the levying and collection of municipal and school taxes, police matters, and the enforcement of certain laws concerning agriculture."

the Church plays a great part in the erection of parishes and parochial municipalities. This may be illustrated by the process pursued when a parish is to be divided, as this has been described to the writer. Some of the proprietors go informally to the bishop and ask for a division. The bishop asks, "How many inhabitants will there be in it? Get a petition signed by a majority of the requisite number [*i. e.*, 300] and I will establish a parish at once." The petitioners may be the smallest proprietors, and the poorest class of the inhabitants. The requisite number being assured, the bishop sends a note to the Commissioner, who calls a meeting of the freeholders of the locality where the new parish is to be set up. As soon as he is certified of a majority vote he makes a favorable report, a priest of the new parish is appointed at once and becomes head of the parish. Then a meeting is held of which the priest is *ex-officio* president. He can speak from the chair. *Syndics* or trustees are then appointed to look after the building of the parish church. Generally six are chosen, sometimes four, the priest having the balance of power. With the priest and the bishop they are the only officials to decide on the cost of the church. The plans and estimates are then made under the direction of the *syndics*, and when approved by the bishop, become the legal basis of assessment upon all rate-payers belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The same method is pursued for the erection of the priest's house. The location of the church and presbytery is decided by the bishop. The assessments can be enforced at the rate of ten *per centum* per annum. These give rise to many mortgages on the real estate in the parish, which are held by the Church. This has been an effective instrument in the encroachment of the French-Canadian agricultural population on the English. The Church controls the land.

Within the parish is the *fabrique*, a term in universal use, and of legal force, which no one seems able to define.

It is a legal corporation, levies taxes collectible by law, and more perhaps than any other institution has maintained in the Canadian communities the little force or measure of autonomy which has obtained. It is supposed to be formed of the *curé* or parish priest and the *marguilliers*. The main function of the *fabrique* is to assess the rates for the Church administration of the parish, the so-called *casuel*, including warming and lighting the church building, and fees for a multiplicity of priestly services. Once a year the *marguilliers* accompany the priest in his visit to the families of his flock and receive a collection, nominally at least, voluntary. They go round in a large sleigh for the *quête de l'Enfant Jesu*. The *marguilliers* are elected, one each year, for a term of three years. The oldest in office is president of the body.

In conclusion we would emphasize these points.

1. The French-Canadians have come to stay. The tenacity of the race is historically demonstrated. The Romans conquered the Gauls, but the Gauls absorbed their conquerors. The Scandinavians took possession of Normandy, gave it its name, and impressed their characteristic qualities, which remain to-day with a certain distinctness in parishes and districts in Canada. Yet there is a staying power in these people which seems to spring from the stock into which the Northmen were engrafted. The Franks, before this Danish invasion, came and ruled, but France and Germany are almost as distinct to-day in racial peculiarities as the ancient Gauls and Romans. And on this continent the British conquest of Canada is leaving less and less traces of itself in the population of Quebec. This province is becoming more and more thoroughly and completely French.

2. So that we must say, secondly, Canadians have come to remain, for a long time certainly, *French* Canadians. The force of their past history, the constant pressure, impulse and direction of their trusted leaders, will keep them to this national unity. They are not like people separated

by thousands of miles from the lands of their nativity or origin. Their countrymen press hard upon the thin, invisible line which separates the Province of Quebec from Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. The old English counties are filling up from the French parishes north of the St. Lawrence. The overflow from the same districts is not restrained by any geographical or political boundary. Soon the parishes south of the St. Lawrence will run over. Meanwhile a parochial organization will have been thoroughly established reaching up from Connecticut to the border, and meeting a similar one there covering the entire province. A living inter-communion of this sort is an immense force for the preservation of the national traits, language, and customs.

If possible, the priests, so far as organization can effect this, are more in control with us, than in Quebec. The parish is transplanted, but not the *fabrique*. All the church property of a parish is in the hands of the priest, or his ecclesiastical superiors. One thing is wanting, the system of tithes, with its first lien upon the land. The discovery, if it be such, that this was in force as civil law before the conquest, helps to fasten this on Quebec, under its present allegiance. For though the Act of Quebec reserves the supremacy of the Crown, it guarantees to the Roman Catholic Church under this limitation, all the "dues and rights," with respect to its own followers, which existed under the French *Régime*. This falls away the moment the parish crosses the line and enters New England. But no one acquainted with the powers wielded by the Roman Catholic priesthood over these people as they come to us can anticipate much change for a long time on this account. The money for churches, schools and convents is forthcoming without the *fabrique* and without legal tithes.

3. And this population, organized and moving, as it were, in a solid and disciplined column, has come to multiply. Not so fast as at home, we may believe, by natural

increase, but still largely thus, and also by constant re-enforcement. The domestic policy has greatly changed. Once Bishop De Goesbriand could obtain priests only from France. Now Father Hamon's book appears under the approval of Cardinal Taschereau.

We have thus rapidly developing among us an organized community opposed to Americanization, secluded by all possible effort on the part of its leaders from the assimilating influences which affect other immigrants, and having on its banners the inscription: *Notre Religion, Notre Langue, et nos Mœurs*. It is an organization ruled by a principle diametrically opposed to that which our fathers brought to these shores, and which has made New England what it is. The one depresses to the lowest point possible what the other exalted to the highest, the principle of personal responsibility with the freedom which this involves.

We have no criticism to pass upon men of another faith for being loyal to their convictions, we recognize their purpose to be loyal to our flag, we would have them enjoy all the guarantees our Constitution and civilization provide of civil and religious liberty. We would incite no religious or civil crusade, nor play the rôle of alarmists. We would use only the weapons of truth and light. But light there must be; for in it, under the blessing of Him who gives it, is our national security. Shall not the scholars of America see to it, so far as they may, that the common-school system shall remain a bond of union, a common principle, and not become a question for political division?

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1891.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds April 1, 1891.

The Isaac Davis Book Fund has been increased \$5,000 by the gift of Hon. E. L. Davis, and by vote of the Society is hereafter to be called The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,372.62.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1891, was \$115,547.78, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,409.53
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,923.82
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,411.81
The Publishing Fund,.....	22,517.45
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	6,897.31
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	3,207.14
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,074.76
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	4,684.37
The Alden Fund,.....	1,308.94
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,218.48
The George Chandler Fund,.....	539.47
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	2,320.12
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	1,372.62
Stevens' Subscription,	75.00

\$115,547.78

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$7,349.51.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1891, is as follows :

DR.

1891. April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$1,231.44	
" Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	2,721.77	
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	185.00	
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	176.40	
" "	From Hon. Edward L. Davis,	5,000.00	
" "	Mortgage Notes paid,.....	6,200.00	
Subscription to Stevens's "Facsimiles" Fund,			
	Stephen Salisbury,.....	\$50.00	} 75.00
	Edward L. Davis,.....	25.00	
			<hr/>
			\$15,589.61

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1891,.....	\$1,481.71
By expense of repairs,.....	230.71
By printing "Proceedings".....	645.03
Books purchased,.....	267.99
For binding,.....	56.60
Incidental expenses, including coal purchased,.....	540.56
For Insurance,	17.50
Invested in Rail Road Bonds.....	5,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$8,240.10
Balance in cash October 1, 1891,.....	7,349.51
	<hr/>
	\$15,589.61

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1891,	\$39,525.54
Income to October 1, 1891,.....	1,185.76
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$40,861.30
Paid for salaries,.....	\$940.04
Incidental expenses, including coal purchased,..	494.23
For Insurance,	17.50
	<hr/>
	\$1,451.77
1891, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	<hr/>
	\$39,409.53

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$18,942.56	
Income to October 1, 1891,	568.26	
	<hr/>	
	\$19,510.82	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	587.00	
	<hr/>	
1891, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$18,923.82

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$6,280.01	
Income to October 1, 1891,	188.40	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,468.41	
Paid for binding,	56.60	
	<hr/>	
1891, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$6,411.81

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$22,455.33	
Income to October 1, 1891,	673.65	
Publications sold,	33.50	
	<hr/>	
	\$23,162.48	
Cost of printing "Proceedings,"	645.03	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$22,517.45

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$1,669.80	
Received from Edward L. Davis,	5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1891,	200.94	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,870.74	
Paid for books,	63.43	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$6,807.31

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$3,113.73	
Income to October 1, 1891,	93.41	
	<hr/>	
Balance April 1, 1891,		\$3,207.14

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$1,080.28	
Income to October 1, 1891,	32.40	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,112.68	
Paid for books,	37.92	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$1,074.76

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$4,771.92	
Income to October 1, 1891,	148.16	
	<u>\$4,916.08</u>	
Paid for repairs,	280.71	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$4,634.37

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$1,270.82	
Income to October 1, 1891,	88.12	
	<u>\$1,358.94</u>	
Balance April 1, 1891,		\$1,308.94

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1891,	150.00	
	<u>\$5,150.00</u>	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$1,314.87	
Income to October 1, 1891,	89.44	
	<u>\$1,354.31</u>	
Paid for books,	135.88	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$1,218.48

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$522.98	
Income to October 1, 1891,	15.67	
Books sold	24.00	
	<u>\$562.65</u>	
Paid for books,	23.18	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$539.47

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance April 1, 1891,	\$2,280.93	
Income to October 1, 1891,	67.82	
	<u>\$2,328.75</u>	
Paid for books,	8.63	
Balance October 1, 1891,		\$2,320.12
Total of the thirteen funds,		\$113,423.20
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,		670.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		1,372.62
Balance to Stevens's Publication Subscription		75.00
October 1, 1891, total,		\$115,547.78

1891.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 894.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,256.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	460.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	540.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,128.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	780.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	700.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	5,796.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,308.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,681.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$23,000.00	\$29,673.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,170.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	775.00

BONDS.

Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,025.00
Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,360.00
Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,210.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	4,950.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,.....	3,000.00	2,880.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,.....	5,000.00	4,800.00
Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	49,050.00	49,050.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	348.27	348.27
Cash in National Bank on interest,.....	7,349.51	7,349.51
		<hr/>
		\$115,547.78 \$124,590.78

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1891.

Respectfully submitted.

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1891, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 17, 1891.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE past six months have been marked by quiet prosperity. Large receipts of historical material, the publication of valuable papers and a fair use of our treasures, may be named as the chief points of interest in our Society-life during that period.

It is sometimes asked whether ours is a public or a private library. To this question your librarian has felt at liberty to reply that it may be called with at least a certain degree of propriety, a private library for the public good. The rules and regulations adopted by the Council and the Library Committee for the government of the library, are, as the Society's by-laws require, such as are "most conducive to the preservation and highest utility of the same." To this end, Section 1, under "Use of library" provides that "Members of the Society only are entitled to enter and remain in alcoves unattended, but for specific purposes, other persons may enter the alcoves when accompanied by the Librarian or Assistant, for the purpose of obtaining and consulting books, but shall not be allowed to remain in the alcoves unless authorized by a member of the Council." Section 2 provides that "Any person who desires to use books in the Library may be furnished with volumes for consultation upon application to the Librarian and Assistants." In the Society's earlier days its librarian was, to some extent at least, a law unto himself. I desire to testify after ten years trial, that the by-laws and rules adopted in the month following the death of the distinguished scholar and librarian who preceded me, have given aid and comfort to his successor. It is hoped that there may be a wide-spread

knowledge of the freedom of our treasure-house to members, as well as of the privileges granted to all others.

The Society's "Order of Performances" for only two years is known to have been preserved, and each is believed to be unique. A copy of the one used at the third anniversary celebration, on Monday, October 23, 1815, was reproduced in the librarian's report of October, 1890, and the other, which was distributed seventy-five years ago at the Stone Chapel in Boston, on the fourth anniversary, is now in like manner reproduced:—

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

ORDER OF PERFORMANCES

AT THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

AT THE STONE CHAPEL, ON WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 23, 1816.

- I. Voluntary, on the Organ.
- II. Prayer.
- III. Hymn.

- IV. ADDRESS by the Rev. WM. BENTLEY.
- V. Hymn.
- VI. Benediction.

HYMN I.

LET children hear the mighty deeds,
Which GOD performed of old;
Which in our younger years we saw,
And which our fathers told.

He bids us make his glories known,
His works of power and grace;
And we'll convey his wonders down
Through every rising race.

Our lips shall tell them to our sons,
And they again to theirs;
That generations yet unborn,
May teach them to their heirs.

Thus shall they learn in GOD alone
Their hope securely stands;
That they may ne'er forget his works,
But practice his commands.

HYMN II.

God of Eternity! from Thee
Did infant Time its being draw;
Moments and days, and months and years,
Revolve by thy unvaried law.

Silent and slow they glide away;—
Steady and strong the current flows;
"Till lost in that unmeasur'd sea
From which its being first arose.

The thoughtless sons of Adam's race
Upon the rapid stream are borne,
To that unseen, eternal home,
From which no travellers return.

Great Source of Wisdom! teach our hearts
To know the price of every hour;
That Time may bear us on to joys,
Beyond its measure and its power.

DOORS OPENED AT 3 O'CLOCK FOR THE ADMITTANCE OF LADIES.

The address delivered on the latter occasion by the Reverend William Bentley was found among the manuscripts bequeathed to the Society in 1875, by his nephew, Mr. William Bentley Fowle, and printed in a limited edition, the same year. Copies may be obtained of the librarian.

Recent applications to be allowed to deposit geological specimens in our cabinet have been reminders of a passage in Mr. William Lincoln's Council Report of May 29, 1839, in which he mentions "An extensive collection of foreign and native minerals and of shells, many of them of singular beauty and high scientific value, but not peculiarly appropriate to the objects of the Institution." It is the transfer of this and similar material which is referred to in the accompanying letter. Mention was made of this transfer in a former report of the librarian, as establishing an important precedent. It seems well to submit this communication of more than thirty-seven years ago and thus indicate another of the important steps which the Society has taken through its leaders, in the cause of education. Following is the letter:—

"Worcester, May 30, 1854.

To the Trustees of the American Antiquarian Society.

GENTLEMEN :

A number of gentlemen interested in the study of Natural History have recently organized a Society for the promotion of that study here. They have availed themselves of the charter of the Library Association, and are at present organized as a department of that Institution. They have already taken measures to establish a cabinet and have appointed their officers. It has been suggested that the Antiquarian Society will be willing to surrender to this new Society the charge of the collections of the old Worcester Natural History Society. I am directed therefore to make an application to your Board, on behalf of the new Society to ask if those collections can be transferred to us. A provision in our Constitution directs that in case of the failure of any special organization for the study of

Natural History, our collections shall be deposited with you.

Very respectfully, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD E. HALE.

Chairman of the

Natural History Department

of the Young Men's Library Association.

It is a pleasure to be able to add that after living under various names, the Society, by an Act approved March 6, 1884, became the Worcester Natural History Society, that it has occupied the Edwin Conant homestead, recently bequeathed to it, that our President is one of its chief patrons and that members of our Council and Society have always been influential in the management of its affairs. One of its founders, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in our Proceedings of April 28, 1886, spoke of it as "a sort of offshoot of the American Antiquarian Society"; and if this be so your librarian will surely be excused for briefly calling your attention to so vigorous and so promising an offspring. I will also take the liberty of preserving in our Proceedings the following important facts relating to the period under consideration, from Mr. Nathaniel Paine's paper read before the Natural History Society, November 22, 1890, which were found in the newspapers of the period after the foregoing paragraphs were penned. Referring to the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association he said:—

"Perhaps the most important epoch in our history was in the spring of 1854. There were at that time quite a number of ladies and gentlemen of the Association who were more or less interested in the subject of natural history, and it was proposed to encourage this interest by means of the Library Association organization. The matter was brought before the Association at its annual meeting in April of that year, and was received with much favor, and in May, Rev. Edward E. Hale presented to the directors a plan for the organization of a natural history department of the Association. The manager of the new department, Mr. Hale, invited Prof. Louis Agassiz, the eminent naturalist, to visit

Worcester and advise them as to the best course to be pursued in starting the new department. October 24, 1854, Prof. Agassiz came to Worcester, and with the officers of the new department examined the collections of the Worcester Lyceum of Natural History, a society founded many years before [1825] and whose collections were deposited in the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society. By the consent of Levi Lincoln, Stephen Salisbury, Isaac Davis, Dr. John Green, Frederick W. Paine and a few other gentlemen, the survivors of the old Society, this collection was transferred to the new department and became the nucleus of the present fine cabinet of this Society."

Your librarian has received a communication to which he desires to call your attention. It contains the following paragraphs: "The *New England Magazine* for February, 1891, has a long story on Charlestown—murder of Capt. John Russell, 1755, reproduced in the local paper, and based on good historical authority. It is *out* on Charlestown. Russell is Codman, and dates and names are altered, etc. The jail at Worcester is described as a loathsome hole, in a granite quarry, overcrowded with criminals. Is there any truth in this part of the story? The tone of the article is to make matters look worse than they were—and they were bad enough at the best." The paper, which is by Mr. John Codman 2d, is entitled "A Story of Old Charlestown," and the reply to that portion of it which relates to the Worcester Jail may well be treated under two heads, viz.: the charge, and the answer thereto. And first as to the charge, which recites that—

"The day after the examination, the prisoners, Mark, Phyllis, Robin and others, clogged and chained, were transported by stage to the jail at Worcester,—for owing to the war and the turbulence of the times, those nearer Boston were overcrowded. This den, one of the worst in the country, was in an old worked-out granite quarry. Robin, as the only white man of the gang, first descended the ladder the length of the shaft which led to the caverns underground, where criminals of all grades were indiscriminately mingled: poor debtors, forgers from the pillory or the

whipping-post, counterfeiters with the letter "C" stamped on their foreheads, or with ears cropped, women who wore the scarlet letter, many whose arms were fresh from the branding-iron, murderers, and the perpetrators of the most heinous crimes. By the feeble light which penetrated the shaft Robin saw a crowd of repulsive, scarcely human faces waiting for him at the foot of the ladder, while their cries and ribald laughter and the blows of the keepers urged his descent. Manacled and powerless he fell from the ladder into the midst of the creatures who awaited him. They sprang upon him like bloodhounds, tore his clothes from his body, struck him, spat upon him. This only ceased when Robin, half senseless, was thrown into a blanket and tossed again and again from the muddy floor to the stone roof, striking each time with such force that but for the exhaustion of his tormentors they would have killed him. With money stolen from his clothes, they bought rum from their keepers, and a fiendish revel began, in the course of which their insensible victim was forgotten. In this place, Robin and his fellow-prisoners passed many months, each night confined in a little pen of wood, their feet fastened to iron bars and necks chained to rings in beams above them. Water oozed from the roof and trickled down upon them; masses of earth were constantly falling off. In the dampness and filth, what remnants of clothing were vouchsafed them grew mouldy, and their limbs became stiff with rheumatism. Vermin swarmed upon them, and not a ray of light reached their cells; they were without a window, a chimney, or even a hole in the wall."

A brief answer to the foregoing will be drawn from Mr. William Lincoln's History of Worcester, in which it is said of the jail of the period referred to, that it "stood on land of Stephen Salisbury, Esq., east of the south extremity of Lincoln street." The jail itself is minutely described as follows:—

"In 1753, a new gaol was built a few rods south of the former prison, 38 feet long, 28 feet wide, with 7 posts. The south end was studded with joist six inches square set five inches apart and filled between with stone and mortar. The top, sides and floor were covered inside and out with

oak plank fastened with a profuse use of iron spikes, and doors, windows and partitions were heavily grated."

Justice to the city in which we are met as well as to the second librarian of this Society who was the Historian *par excellence* of Worcester, with a desire to promote historical accuracy, have led your present librarian to deny the correctness of Mr. Codman's highly-colored picture of prison-life in Worcester in the year 1755. It could with more propriety be called an intensified representation of all the American prison miseries—so vividly described by McMaster—with others known before the era of prison reform, added thereunto.

During the six months immediately preceding October 15, 1891, we received gifts from two hundred and sixty-six sources, viz. : from forty-four members, one hundred and thirteen persons not members, and one hundred and nine societies and institutions; nine hundred and thirty-six books, fifty-one hundred and sixty pamphlets, one hundred and seventy-eight files of unbound newspapers, two framed and twenty-four unframed engravings, three framed and eleven unframed photographs, eleven maps, three manuscripts and one copper coin. By exchange, one hundred and thirty-nine books and twenty-one pamphlets; and from the bindery eighty-four volumes of newspapers, making a total of ten hundred and seventy-five books, fifty-one hundred and eighty-one pamphlets, eighty-four bound and one hundred and seventy-eight unbound volumes of newspapers, etc.

I note a few facts of interest in connection with the appended list of Givers and Gifts. Of the forty-four members therein, thirty—including nearly every member of the Council—have contributed works of their own. Vice-President Hoar's gift includes two photographs taken at Santo Domingo, May 22, 1891, one of which is marked "Casket containing the remains of Christopher Columbus (upper one the ashes)" and the other "End view of the Casket containing the remains of Christopher Columbus."

With Mr. Charles A. Chase's gift is a Confederate pass with the oath of allegiance, both of which are worthy of reproduction as fragments of history. Following are the pass and the oath which is upon the reverse thereof:—

“CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
WAR DEPARTMENT.

Richmond, *Sept. 25, 1862.*

Permission is granted *Manuel O'Neal*
to visit *Augusta, Ga.* upon honor
not to communicate in writing or verbally, for publication, any
fact ascertained, which, if known to the enemy, might be inju-
rious to the Confederate States of America. (Subject to the
discretion of the military authorities.)

E. Griswold,
PROVOST MARSHAL.

I *Manuel O'Neal*, do
solemnly swear or affirm, that I will bear true faith and yield
obedience to the Confederate States of America, and that I will
serve them honestly and faithfully against their enemies.

Manuel O'Neal.

Richmond, *Sept. 25, 1862.*”

For the addition of five thousand dollars to what is now known as the Isaac and Edward L. Davis book fund, perhaps no one can be more grateful than your librarian. It has given him fresh courage in his special effort to secure the chief authorities mentioned in Bandelier's “Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America,” so many of which are already in our Davis Spanish-American alcove. Hon. John D. Washburn, United States Minister to Switzerland, in forwarding Dr. Carl Hilty's recent work on the Swiss Constitution speaks of it as “a very valuable contribution to the history of that most interesting country.” Dr. George Chandler's gifts include those brought by his own hand, purchases by the fund which he has so wisely established, and some of the latest and best printed results of genealogical research secured by exchange for his faithful record

of the "Chandler Family." His worthy example, especially in presenting the remainder of the second edition of his great work for the upbuilding of our department of family history, may well be imitated by his associates and others. It has been thought wise to add to the Haven alcove Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft's narrative portion of his historical series relating to the western half of North America. It has been truly said of the author that "Had he been the typical scholar and man of letters he would probably not have undertaken the task he did undertake." Mr. Bancroft has presented the Harper Brothers' reprint of his thirty-ninth and last volume, which is entitled "Literary Industries: a Memoir," it being a personal and minute account of the methods pursued in the thirty years required for the preparation and execution of his work. It is quite possible that the meeting of the American Library Association in San Francisco, the present month, may directly or indirectly suggest the future home of the Bancroft Library of fifty thousand closely related volumes. While the Pacific coast might well lay claim to it, a more central location would on some accounts seem more desirable. The last gift of the Hon. Hamilton B. Staples was his first contribution to our Proceedings, viz.: "A Day at Mount Vernon in 1797." It may be said of its author that he showed his love for this Society by answering all the calls which it made upon him. Since the judge's decease, we have received from Mrs. Staples a copy of his "Origin of the Names of the States of the Union," to fill an order given by a leader of the Massachusetts Bar, who said, "I wish it, also, as a souvenir of one whose courtesy both on the bench and in private life I shall always recall with most affectionate feelings." Mr. J. Fletcher Williams, our only Minnesota member, has from time to time purchased for us new histories relating to that State. His latest gift is the Memorial History of St. Paul, recently published, which contains his exhaustive history of the Press, with a short biographical sketch of the author.

Grateful mention should be made of the large contribution from the libraries of the late John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, and of his son, the late Hon. Charles Francis Adams. This material from the Adams family has been selected under their direction by Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, a member of this Society. The Reverend Narcisse Cyr has added value to his gift of various photographs of foreign persons and places, by sending a descriptive letter relating thereto. Mrs. George F. Hoar and Mrs. William W. Rice have made a large deposit of books, pamphlets and newspapers received from their father, the late Mr. Henry W. Miller, of Worcester; and one of a similar character has been made by the heirs of Mrs. Francis H. Kinnicutt. Amos R. Thomas, M.D., in presenting a copy of his "Descendants of William Thomas, of Hardwick, Mass." says "Claiming kinship with the illustrious founder of your Society, Isaiah Thomas, LL.D., it is with special interest that I offer this volume for a place on the shelves of your library." We have received from the library of our late associate, Charles O. Thompson, Ph.D., after a second personal conference with Mrs. Thompson, four cases of books and pamphlets, chiefly educational. The family of Dr. Thompson have been anxious to carry out his expressed wishes so far as possible. To this end his valuable collection relating to Dartmouth College, his *Alma Mater*, is included in the gift. A most valuable accession is the first report of the Massachusetts Library Commissioners, prepared by its chairman, Mr. C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian. If the doctrine, *Qui facit per alium facit per se*, still prevails, we may, perhaps, justly speak of it as *our* first year's work, for Mr. Samuel S. Green, of our Council, and our associate, Hon. Henry S. Nourse are members of this most excellent Board. In a number of the Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec just received, is the following, which is reprinted both in the spirit of reciprocity and as a note of warning: "Lost or

Removed from the Library of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, Morrin College Building, St. Stanislaus Hill, two volumes of the Quebec Herald, 1788 to 1790. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. x $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. x $\frac{7}{8}$ in. thick; without covers, for the person who removed them left the covers behind. These missing volumes, or any information relating thereto, will be thankfully received by the Custodian of the Library, or F. C. Würtele, Librarian."

We have received from Mr. Henry H. Edes, a member of the revision committee, the Rolls of Membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, recently printed. The committee have been reminded, doubtless, of the Introduction addressed "To the Christian Reader" in Mr. Henry Stevens's "Catalogue of my English Library"—published in 1853—in which he says "If you are troubled with a pride of accuracy and would have it completely taken out of you, print a catalogue." This observation applies, though possibly not with equal force, to catalogues of both persons and things. There appears to be at present no uniformity whatever in the preparation of membership lists, and perhaps it is not important that there should be. In the year 1876, Mr. Stevens—already cited—dedicated his Photo-Bibliography "To the Librarian of the Future whose Bibliography is to be as Exact and Uniform as his Spelling." It would seem to be as safe to predict uniformity in the membership rolls of the future as in the department mentioned. But however that may be, such carefully prepared works as this to which your attention has been called, are labor-saving helps which can be fully appreciated only by those who have frequent occasion to use them. I might add that your librarian has given considerable time to the verification and correction of the Genealogical Society lists, so far as they relate to past and present members of this Society, and that in this effort light was received as well as given. It is interesting to note that the discrepancy of a single day in the date of decease as recorded in the earlier

newspapers, is sometimes accounted for by the fact that "died last night" really means after midnight, *i. e.*, this morning, and "last Thursday night" may also mean after midnight and therefore more exactly Friday morning, thus confusing the later chronicler who desires strict accuracy in dates. Additions and corrections to our List of Members January 1, 1890, will always be entered in our interleaved copy and thus be ready for the next printed issue.

Our third librarian gave to this Society a golden text when he said "I will not eulogize a man dead or alive at the expense of truth." Your present librarian notes with genuine regret the death of Mr. F. W. Christern, for many years our New York agent for foreign purchases. It has been truthfully said by one who evidently knew him, that "He was most genial and most respected; blest with obligingness which was inexhaustible."

Our collection of portraits has in late years answered many questions, not only for the historical writer and illustrator but for the historical painter and sculptor as well. When Mr. J. Q. A. Ward was about to begin work upon his statue of The Puritan now in Central Park, New York, he sketched the dress of Gov. John Winthrop, as represented in our oil portrait. He was also much interested in drawing the details of the Continental costume as shown in our portrait of Col. John May, painted by Gullager during the war of the Revolution. With regard to the latter he said that while he could readily examine General Washington's costume so carefully preserved under glass, it was much more important for his purpose to be able to see this officer in his uniform and to know that the presentment upon the canvas is original and real. Facts regarding this interesting but not widely known character, who served his country both as non-commissioned and commissioned officer during the war of the Revolution and subsequently, may be found in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* of January, 1873; in Mr. Nathaniel Paine's "Portraits and

Busts in Public Buildings at Worcester, Mass., in 1876"; and in a Genealogy of the Descendants of John May, published in 1878; and therefore need not here be repeated. As, however, the authors do not agree as to the date of the Colonel's decease, it seems best to fix it by contemporary history and at the same time to add a few minor facts not therein mentioned. For this purpose I quote from the *Weekly Messenger*, Boston, Friday, July 17, 1812, as follows: "Yesterday morning suddenly, John May, Esq., *Æt.* 63 years. His funeral will proceed from his late mansion in Fish Street at 5 o'clock this afternoon, when the relations and friends are invited to attend without further notice." Also, from the *Centinel*, Boston, Saturday, July 18, 1812, the following: "In this town on Thursday morning of a paralysis, John May, Esq., *Æt.* 63. By the death of Col. May the town is deprived of a judicious and faithful officer and the public of an active, useful and benevolent citizen: to his family the loss is irreparable. His funeral took place yesterday, attended by the Selectmen, Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," &c., &c. Thus it would appear that Col. May died Thursday, July 16, and not July 13, as given by two of the authorities named.

Our portrait of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., has been copied by Mr. Edwin T. Billings by order of his son, lately deceased, and placed in Channing Memorial Hall, Boston. And here I may be allowed to make a correction or perhaps better, to report a decision as to the name of the painter of this beautiful portrait. It has several times been attributed in print to Chester Harding but was undoubtedly the work of Mr. Alvan Fisher, an artist who lived in Boston in 1827-28, and possibly later. Light upon the subject has been obtained from the following sources: Mr. Billings writes, "My impression is that the original portrait was painted by Chester Harding, but as he had imitators it may have been painted by Mr. Fisher." This first impression was held by others, but the evidence seems to be strongly

against it. Mr. Haven says in his Librarian's report October 21, 1863: "Mrs. Davis has also deposited the fine portrait of her father, the late Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft, painted (by Fisher) at the request of some of his friends." Our associate, Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis, in a letter to the librarian, confirms this view. He says, "Mr. Haven was right, Fisher was the name of the artist who painted the portrait of my grandfather. My recollection is that he was from Boston. I was a very young child when the picture was painted about 1827, 8 or 9, but I remember it very well, though I cannot say now what Mr. Fisher's Christian name was, nor quite certainly whether he was from Boston."¹ That Fisher was the artist would seem to be a fixed fact. Mr. William Dunlap, in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, calls him "that excellent artist and estimable man." Mr. Samuel L. Gerry, in his illustrated paper on the old artists of Boston, which appeared in the February number of the *New England Magazine* of the current year, referring to his companions, says, "About this time, say 1833, the four walls of the Harding gallery were covered by a joint exhibition of four artists, viz.: Chester Harding, Alvan Fisher, Thomas Doughty and Francis Alexander." He further observes that Fisher "sought the White Hills and was often with Doughty and Harding an *habitué* of Thompson's little tavern at North Conway," adding that "those pioneers of the mountains were about half artist and half trout fishermen." It is apparent that such works of art as have been herein referred to are useful in other ways and for other purposes than as mere object lessons. Their great value for reproduction alone, and thus their protection from absolute loss by fire or otherwise, can hardly be overestimated. We are encouraged to hope that the valuable

¹ It is probable that the date is 1832-3 as the reverse of the canvas is marked, apparently by the artist,—"A. Bancroft, Æt. 77," and his birthday was November 10, 1755.

portrait gallery now collecting under this roof will be amply provided for in that spacious, well-lighted and fire-proof library building of the future. Perhaps the surest way of adding to such a collection of portraits, and being ready for special opportunities, would be the establishment of an art fund for that purpose. And here the fact is once more noted that we still greatly desire an oil portrait of Hon. Edward Everett, our president from 1841 to 1853, that our set of deceased presiding officers may be made complete. The Society's early interest in the securing of portraits is indicated by the following paragraphs from Librarian Christopher C. Baldwin's diary, dated Greenfield, September 16, 1833: "I must not omit to mention what I saw in Judge Newcomb's parlor. It was a full-length likeness of General Warren, by Copley, in the most perfect preservation; and also that of his lady, by the same artist. I cannot describe the pleasure I had in looking at them. As a portrait the likeness of the General was much the better. I could not get them for the Library of the Antiquarian Society though I projected several schemes to that end." We may well wonder what became of the coveted treasures.¹ In this connection it may be added that the same diary, of date June 1, 1834, also preserves the following facts of special interest to this Society, viz.: "William Bentley Fowle, Esq., gave me this information in relation to the painting of Saint John which hangs in the Library. Some sailors from his uncle's Parish in Salem were at Leghorn at the time Bonaparte was transferring the paintings and statuary from Italy to Paris. As those articles were brought to Leghorn in their passage to Paris, these Salem sailors were required to render some assistance relating to them, and as they did not understand French, could only understand by signs what was doing. When they found out that the whole of the paintings and statuary had been stolen, one of them cried out

¹ These portraits, which were for a time on exhibition in the Coreoran Art Gallery in Washington, were afterward in the possession of the late Dr. Buckminster Brown of Boston.— See *Memorial History of Boston*, III., 60-63.

‘Parson Bentley must have some of them’ and thereupon seized this Saint John, brought it to Salem and gave it to him, and at his decease, he bequeathed it to the Antiquarian Society.”

Information is desired as to the name of the artist who modelled our wonderfully life-like medallion of Governor James Sullivan. Possibly both the art and the name of the artist are lost, but it is known that a Polish exile of family and education who was befriended by Levi Lincoln, senior, when Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts under Governor Sullivan in 1807 and 1808, produced this medallion of the Governor, and one of the Lieutenant-Governor now owned by Mrs. John W. Wetherell, of Worcester. It is also known that similar work was done by C. Rauschner in 1810, two years after the death of Governor Sullivan, but our late associate, Mr. Thomas C. Amory, in his *Life of Sullivan*, makes no mention of the likeness. Such work is “worthy to be had in remembrance” and the name of the worker may well be earnestly sought that we may honor it. I have placed the medallion upon the office table and with it a small but interesting collection of silhouettes, photographs and engraved heads, for identification. A like desire for information leads me to ask for light as to Mr. Talcott, a peripatetic artist who sometime after 1836 painted our curious, full-length portrait of Mr. Robert Bailey Thomas, of Farmer’s Almanack fame. It may interest members to know that this portrait has been photographed for reproduction in number 100 of the Almanack, it being that for the year 1892, and that the Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D., has prepared a brief sketch of Mr. Thomas to accompany it.¹ Again, our first printed list of givers and gifts which was published with a communication from the President, October 24, 1814, and is headed “Articles

¹ Another likeness of Mr. Thomas may be found in the issues of 1837 and 1838, and a “Concise Memoir” — autobiographical — in those of 1833 to 1837 inclusive, and 1839.

Presented to the Society since October, 1813," contains the following exasperating entry: "Portrait of Charles Paxton, Esq., Painted by Copley—By a Lady." This fine portrait which hangs alongside our north staircase is, with hardly a shadow of doubt, a Copley, but whence did it come to us? Neither the "Book of Donations" nor the correspondence of the period helps us in our search.

It is just three-score years and ten since the Committee to report on the state of the library — Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison — said, "Thus far the Society has proceeded under favorable auspices. It remains for its members, by their exertions, to justify the confidence inspired by its early promise. While these are continued we may reasonably flatter ourselves that it will reflect honour on its founders, prove an object of public utility and vindicate its claim to public patronage." To which I may be allowed to add that we need not apologize for our past and that the signs are full of hope for our future.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, MR. HENRY, Washington, D. C.—His "Historical Essays."
- BANCROFT, MR. HUBERT H., San Francisco, Cal.—His "Literary Industries: a Memoir."
- BARTON, MR. EDMUND M., Worcester.—"St. Andrew's Cross"; and "St. John's Echo," in continuation.
- BARTON, WM. SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—Three books; and seventy-five pamphlets.
- BELL, HON. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—His "New Hampshire at Bunker Hill."
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—One pamphlet.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—"Genealogy of the Ames Family"; three books; and twenty pamphlets.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., Worcester.—Five books; one hundred and sixty-nine miscellaneous pamphlets; eight lithographs; one manuscript; and one photograph.
- CLARKE, MR. ROBERT, Cincinnati, Ohio.—The "Twentieth and Twenty-first Reunions of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland"; and Green's "Spanish Conspiracy."
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., S.B., Cambridge.—Ten books; and two hundred and twenty-one pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Two books; and ninety-one pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, *President*, San Francisco, Cal.—His "Biennial Report of the University of California."
- DEXTER, PROF. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Davis's "Four Rocks, with Walks and Drives about New Haven" and "Yale University Obituary Record, 1890-91."
- EDES, MR. HENRY H., Charlestown.—"Rolls of Membership of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1844-1890"; and two pamphlets.
- FOSTER, MR. WILLIAM E.—Two pamphlets.
- GAGE, THOMAS H., M.D., Worcester.—His Address at the Jubilee

Meeting at Central Church, May 12, 1891; and His "First and Second Annual Reports of the Memorial Hospital and Washburn Free Dispensary."

GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., *Secretary*, Baltimore, Md.—"Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund."

GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—"The Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioners of the New York State Reservation at Niagara."

GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., M.D., Boston.—Six of his brochures; sixteen books; and one hundred and twelve pamphlets.

GREEN, MR. SAMUEL S., *Librarian*, Worcester.—His "Annual Report on the Free Public Library, for 1890."

GREENE, J. EVARTS, Esq., Worcester.—Manuscript documents relating to Metlakahtha, Alaska.

HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—His "Life of Christopher Columbus"; fourteen numbers "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society"; and the "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.

HALL, REV. EDWARD H., Cambridge.—"Record of the Service of the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Militia in North Carolina."

HIGGINSON, COL. THOMAS W., Cambridge.—His "Life of Francis Higginson"; and the "Cambridge Public Library: its History, etc."

HILL, MR. HAMILTON ANDREWS, Boston.—His "Richard Henry Dana."

HITCHCOCK, PROF. EDWARD, Amherst.—His "Anthropometric Table of Amherst College, 1884-1891"; and his Thirtieth Annual Report.

HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "Government in Canada and the United States Compared"; his Obituary Notices of Charles Devens, Henry M. Dexter, and Edward I. Thomas; one hundred and six books; one hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets; three engraved heads; three files of newspapers; two photographs; and one manuscript.

JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, Ph.D., Providence, R. I.—His "History of Historical Writing in America."

JONES, COL. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—His "Annual Address before the Confederate Survivors' Association, 1891"; and his "Tribute to John McPherson Berrien."

MEAD, MR. EDWIN D., Boston.—Circulars relating to the "Old South Studies."

MOORE, GEORGE H., LL.D., *Superintendent*, New York.—His "Report on the Lenox Library for 1890."

NELSON, HON. THOMAS L., Worcester.—One book; and thirty-three pamphlets.

PAINE, REV. GEORGE S., Worcester.—The "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—One hundred and eleven numbers of magazines; one hundred and seventy-six miscellaneous pamphlets;

- four files of newspapers; three lithographs; and one photograph.
- PERRY, Rt. Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His "General History of the American Church"; sixteen pamphlets; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM FRED., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—The "Dial," as issued; and World's Congress circulars.
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Lexington.—His "Historical Sketch of Bedford, England"; and three historical pamphlets.
- SALISBURY, Mr. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Ten books; two hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets; and thirteen files of periodicals.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, Ohio.—Two Ohio maps, 1890; and five pamphlets.
- STAPLES, Hon. HAMILTON B., Worcester.—His "Day at Mount Vernon in 1797."
- WASHBURN, Hon. JOHN D., Worcester.—Hilty's "Les Constitutions Fédérales de la Confédération Suisse."
- WILLIAMS, J. FLETCHER, S.B., St. Paul, Minn.—"History of St. Paul," 1891; and four Minnesota documents.
- WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—"Harvard University Bulletin"; and "Bibliographical Contributions," as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS, Quincy.—Eighty-three selected books; and one hundred and ten pamphlets.
- BACKUS, Hon. WILLIAM W., Norwich, Conn.—The "Illustrated Popular Biography of Connecticut."
- BALDWIN, WILLIAM H., *President*, Boston.—Boston Young Men's Christian Union Report, 1891.
- BARTON, Mr. FRANCIS A., San Francisco, Cal.—Numbers of California newspapers.
- BEMIS, Mr. JOHN M., *Editor*, Worcester.—"Camp and Lake," as issued.
- BEMIS, MERRICK, M.D., *President*, Worcester.—"Natural History Camp, Lake Quinsigamond, Season of 1891."
- BENJAMIN, Mr. WALTER R., New York.—His "Collector," for October, 1891.
- BIGELOW, Mr. HORACE H., Worcester.—"Genealogy of the Bigelow family of America from 1642 to 1890."
- BLANCHARD AND COMPANY, Messrs. FRANK S., Worcester.—Their "Practical Mechanic and Electrician," as issued; and one pamphlet.
- BLISS, Mr. EUGENE F., Cincinnati, Ohio.—His "In Memoriam Elizabeth Haven Appleton."

- BOWES, Mr. JAMES L., Liverpool, Eng.—His "Vindication of the Decorated Pottery of Japan."
- BROOKS, Rev. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*, Boston.—Bishop Clark's "Memorial of Bishop Benjamin H. Paddock."
- BROWER, Mr. J. V., *Commissioner*, St. Paul, Minn.—"The Source of the Mississippi River."
- BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Eight pamphlets; and the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.
- CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—Twelve valuable works.
- CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., Andover.—His "Necrology of Andover Theological Seminary, 1890-91"; and four pamphlets.
- CHACE, Mrs. ELIZABETH, Central Falls, R. I.—Her "Anti-Slavery Reminiscences"; and "The Outlook," for June 25, 1891, containing an article from her pen.
- CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. ALEXANDER F., Worcester.—His "Aryan Element in Indian Dialects," No. 1.
- CHAMBERLAIN, Hon. MELLEN, Boston.—His "Memorial of Capt. John Cochrane, 1774-1781."
- CHANEY, HENRY A., Esq., Detroit, Mich.—One newspaper.
- CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., Hubbardston.—Files of "The Voice," and "Woman's Journal," 1889-90, in continuation.
- CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His "Monthly Calendar of the Sacred Heart."
- COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His "Gazette," as issued.
- CRANE, Mr. JOHN C., Millbury.—Papers relating to the Glazier Expedition of 1891.
- CRUNDEN, Mr. FREDERICK M., *Librarian*, St. Louis, Mo.—His Annual Report for 1889-1890.
- CURTIS, Mr. WILLIAM E., Washington, D. C.—Three pamphlets relating to the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893.
- CYR, Rev. NARCISSE, Boston.—Two framed and three unframed photographs.
- DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—His "Versions of the Bible."
- DOE AND COMPANY, Messrs. CHARLES H., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, Messrs., New York.—Their "New Publications," as issued.
- DODGE, JAMES H., Esq., *City Auditor*, Boston.—His Annual Report, 1890-91.
- DODGE, THOMAS H., Esq., Worcester.—A framed engraving of his Willow Park; and a pamphlet relating thereto.

- DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, LL.D., *President*, New Haven, Conn.—His Yale University Report for 1890.
- EARLE, MRS. ALICE M., Worcester.—Her "Sabbath in Puritan New England."
- EARLE, PLINY, M.D., Northampton.—His "Additional Notes to Ralph Earle and his Descendants."
- ELIOT, MR. CHARLES, *Secretary*, Boston.—Circular relating to the Trustees of Public Reservations in Massachusetts.
- ESTES, REV. DAVID F., Holden.—Four books; twenty pamphlets; and six college newspapers.
- FISKE, MR. EDWARD R., Worcester.—His "Library Record," as issued.
- FUNK AND WAGNALLS, MESSRS., New York.—Their "Voice," as issued.
- GIDDINGS, MR. EDWARD J., New York.—His "American Christian Rulers, or, Religion and Men, of Government."
- GREEN, MR. MARTIN, Worcester.—Additions to the Worcester Free Public Library, 1883-1890; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- HALL, LIEUT. J. BRAINERD, Worcester.—Twenty-seven unbound volumes of the "Congressional Record"; and his "Veteran," as issued.
- HARRINGTON, MR. EBEN, Worcester.—Worcester Art Students' Club Annual, 1891.
- HAZEN, REV. HENRY A., Boston.—The "Congregational Year-Book," 1891.
- HERRERA, SEÑOR GUILLERMO, Mexico.—Statistical Bulletin of the Republic of Mexico for 1889.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—"Register and Manual of the State of Connecticut," 1891.
- HOLT AND COMPANY, MESSRS. HENRY, New York.—Numbers of the "Educational Review."
- HOMANS PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—"Bankers' Magazine," for May, 1891.
- HORSFORD, EBEN N., LL.D., Cambridge.—His "Defences of Norumbega."
- HORTON AND SON, MESSRS. NATHANIEL A., Salem.—Their "Gazette," as issued.
- JONES, MR. HARRY C., New York.—Numbers of his "Photo-American Review."
- KELLOGG, J. H., M.D., Battle Creek, Mich.—His "Good Health," as issued.
- KYES AND WOODBURY, MESSRS., Worcester.—Their Calendar, as issued.
- KINNICUTT, HEIRS OF MRS. FRANCIS H., Worcester.—Two hundred and twenty-three books; four hundred and ninety-one pamphlets; nine files of newspapers; and three maps.

- LAWRENCE, MR. FRANK, Worcester.—Photographs of Columbus and of Robert B. Thomas.
- LAWTON, DR. CHRISTOPHER P., Worcester.—Numbers of *Fayal* newspapers.
- LEWIS, PROF. THEODORE H., St. Paul, Minn.—Four of his *Archæological* brochures.
- LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Esq., *Secretary*, Worcester.—“Transactions of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, for 1890-91.”
- LIPPINCOTT AND COMPANY, MESSRS. J. B., Philadelphia.—Their “*Bulletin*,” as issued.
- LOSSING, MISS HELEN R. M., Dover Plains, N. Y.—Manuscript *Biographical Sketch* of Benson J. Lossing, LL.D.
- MCDONALD, ARTHUR, Ph.D., Worcester.—His “*Ethics as applied to Criminology*.”
- McKEON, MR. FRANCIS P., Worcester.—His “*Fair Land and Free*,” a poem.
- McLAUGHLIN, MR. ANGUS A., Worcester.—The “*Old South Record*,” as issued.
- METCALF, MR. CALEB B., Worcester.—Two books; sixty-three pamphlets; and the “*Christian Union*,” in continuation.
- MILLER, HEIRS OF MR. HENRY W., Worcester.—Two hundred and twenty-three books; six hundred and ninety-eight pamphlets; twenty-five files of newspapers; two framed and one unframed engravings; four maps; and one manuscript.
- MINER, MR. E. N., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of the “*Phonographic World*.”
- MORENO, SEÑOR FRANCISCO P., La Plata, B. A.—His “*Esploracion Arqueologica de la Provincia de Calamarca*.”
- MOSELEY, MR. G. G., Hartford, Conn.—His “*Religious Herald*,” as issued.
- MOSES, MR. ZEBINA, Washington, D. C.—His “*Moses Family*.”
- MOWER, MR. MANDEVILLE, New York.—Two historical pamphlets.
- MUNROE, MR. ALEXANDER C., *Secretary*, Worcester.—Publications of the Worcester County Musical Association.
- PENTECOST, MR. HUGH D., New York.—Numbers of the “*Twentieth Century*.”
- PIERCE, MR. CHARLES F., Worcester.—The Worcester Schools, 1890.
- POOLE, MR. REUBEN B., *Librarian*, New York.—Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York City, 1891.
- PUTNAM'S SONS, MR. GEORGE P., New York.—Their Magazine, as issued.

- RAYMER, MR. CHARLES D., Minneapolis, Minn.—Numbers of his "Literary World."
- REINWALD, MOSES C., Paris, France.—His "Bulletin," as issued.
- RICE, HOB. WILLIAM, *Librarian*, Springfield.—Publications of the Public Library, as issued.
- RICH, MR. MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—"Board of Trade Journal," as issued.
- ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Four periodicals, in continuation.
- ROBINSON, MR. WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The "Amherst Record," as issued.
- ROE, MR. ALFRED S., Worcester.—Thirty-nine numbers of magazines.
- ROGERS, MR. JAMES S., Saratoga, N. Y.—Two broadsides.
- ROGERS, MRS. JAMES S., Saratoga, N. Y.—Fifteen volumes of unbound newspapers; and eleven pamphlets.
- RUSSELL, MR. E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—Catalogue of the Massachusetts State Normal School, Worcester, 1891.
- SALMON, MR. JOHN, Worcester.—One copper Token.
- SCRIPTURE, MR. E. W., Worcester.—His "Arithmetical Prodigies."
- SHAW, MR. JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Highland Military Academy Register, March, 1891.
- SLAPTER, REV. EDMUND F., D.D., *Registrar*, Boston.—His Annual Report on the Enrichment of the Diocesan Library.
- STAPLES, REV. CARLTON A., Lexington.—His "Chaplains of the Revolution."
- STAPLES, MRS. MARY C. D., Worcester.—"In Memoriam, Judge Hamilton Barclay Staples."
- STAPLES, MR. SAMUEL E., Worcester.—His "Voice of Spring" and other poems.
- TAFT, HOB. WILLIAM H., Washington, D. C.—A Biographical sketch of Hon. Alphonso Taft, LL.D.
- TATMAN, MR. CHARLES T., New York.—Numbers of his "Plain Talk."
- THOMAS, AMOS R., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Genealogical Records of the Descendants of William Thomas of Hardwick, Mass."
- THOMPSON, DR. CHARLES O., Heirs of, Cambridge.—Twenty-seven books; five hundred and thirty-three pamphlets; eleven engraved heads; and three photographs.
- TOBIE, MR. EDWARD P., *Editor*, Pawtucket, R. I.—The "First Maine Bugle," for July, 1891.
- TOWNE, ENOCH H., Esq., *City Clerk*, Worcester.—Worcester City Documents, 1889-91.
- TRUMBLE, MR. ALFRED, *Editor*, New York.—His "Collector," as issued.

- TURNER, MR. JOHN H., Ayer.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.
- VERDUZCO, SEÑOR IGNACIO O., Morelia, Yucatan.—His "Gazeta Oficial," as issued.
- VINAL, REV. CHARLES C., Kennebunk, Me.—One pamphlet.
- VINCENT, MR. FRANK, New York.—His "Around and About South America."
- VINTON, REV. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"All Saints Parish," as issued.
- WALKER, REV. D. S., Springfield, Ill.—A Vermont copper coin of 1788.
- WALKER, REV. GEORGE LEWIS, New Haven, Conn.—His sermon entitled "From Scrooby to Plymouth."
- WALKER, HON. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- WANAMAKER, HON. JOHN, Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Book News," as issued.
- WASHBURN, WILLIS AND GREENE, Messrs. J. D., Worcester.—Two Insurance periodicals, in continuation.
- WELCH, MR. C. E., Vineland, N. J.—"The African," for June, 1891.
- WESBY AND SONS, Messrs. JOSEPH S., Worcester.—Twelve books; six hundred and fifty-three pamphlets; one map; and miscellaneous newspapers.
- WINSLOW, REV. WILLIAM C., D.D., Boston.—His "Pilgrim Fathers in Holland."
- WOLCOTT, REV. P. C., *Secretary*, Davenport, Iowa.—The Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the Diocese of Iowa.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Its publications, as issued.
- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Its publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Magazine, as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.
- AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their Annual Report for the year 1889.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—Their "Sailor's Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Their "University Extension," as issued.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their publications, as issued.
- AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.—One pamphlet.

- BOARD OF EDITORS, CLASS OF '91, W. P. I.—Their "Aftermath."
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their "Statements of Mortality," as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—Four volumes of City Documents.
- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL, TRUSTEES OF.—Their Report for 1890.
- BOSTON DENTAL COLLEGE.—Its Annual Announcement for 1891-92.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its "Bulletin," as issued.
- BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- BUFFALO LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- BULLETIN PUBLISHING COMPANY, Denver, Colo.—Numbers of its "Public Library Bulletin."
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—Its Bulletins, as issued.
- CAMBRIDGE (ENG.) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- CANADA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY DEPARTMENT.—Its publications, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Its publications, as issued.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION.—Their "Record," as issued.
- COLUMBIA COLLEGE LIBRARY.—Eighty-nine books; seventy-one pamphlets; and its publications, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Its publications, as issued.
- FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY COMMISSIONERS OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Their First Report, 1891.
- HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- HIGHLAND CADET, BOARD OF EDITORS.—Their periodical, as issued.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their publications, as issued.
- HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued; one book; and eighteen pamphlets.
- IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their "Record," as issued.
- JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Catalogue; and Rules.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Its publications, as issued.
- KANSAS CITY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Their "Scientist," as issued.
- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their publications, as issued.
- MAINE CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—Their annual publication, 1891.
- MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—"Acts and Resolves," 1891; and one pamphlet.

- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Their "Proceedings," as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.—Its publications, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Its "Returns of Mortality," as issued.
- MERCANTILE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Its publications, as issued.
- MESSENGER, EDITORS OF THE.—Their periodical, as issued.
- MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—Its "Bulletin," as issued.
- NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Its "Living Issues," as issued.
- NATIONAL LIBRARY OF GREECE.—Catalogue of the Library.
- NEWBERRY LIBRARY.—Report for the year 1890.
- NEWBURYPORT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its publications, as issued.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Its publications, as issued.
- NEW YORK COMMISSIONERS OF THE RESERVATION AT NIAGARA.—Their Seventh Annual Report.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—Their "Nation," as issued.
- NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their proceedings, as issued.
- OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their periodicals, as issued.
- PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.—Its Twenty-fourth Annual Report.
- PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.—Its publications, as issued.
- PEABODY REPORTER COMPANY.—Their "Reporter," as issued.
- PORTLAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Second Annual Report.
- REDWOOD LIBRARY AND ATHENÆUM.—Its One Hundred and Sixty-first Annual Report.
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Their Journal, as issued.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.—Their publications for the year 1890.
- ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF NORWAY.—Two of its publications.
- ST. LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Annual Report for 1889-90.
- SALEM PRESS PUBLISHING AND PRINTING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Historical and Genealogical Record."
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—Their "Sentinel," as issued.

SHOE AND LEATHER REPORTER, PUBLISHERS OF.—Their Annual for 1891; and the "Reporter," as issued.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Its publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—Their Twenty-second Annual Reunion.

SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Their publications, as issued.

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

STANDARD COAL AND FUEL COMPANY.—One pamphlet.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Their "Proceedings," for 1890.

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their "Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BOARD ON GEOGRAPHIC NAMES.—Its "Bulletin," No. 2.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Its "Album of Agricultural Graphics."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Thirty Department volumes; and the "Patent Office Gazette," as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Two volumes.

UNITED STATES LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.—The Annual Report of 1889.

UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT.—One volume.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—"Official Records: War of the Rebellion," as issued; Index catalogue, Vol. XII.; and four miscellaneous volumes.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—Sixty-three of its publications.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.—Its Record, as issued.

VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.—Nineteen State documents.

VICTOR IMMANUEL NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF ROME.—Its "Bulletin," as issued.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"History of St. John's Church. Richmond."

W P I, BOARD OF EDITORS.—Their periodical, as issued.

WATCHMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Vermont Watchman," as issued.

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Its "Mortality Reports," as issued.

WORCESTER COUNTY INSTITUTION FOR SAVINGS.—One hundred and forty-two numbers of magazines; and three files of newspapers.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Sixty books; four hundred and seventy-three pamphlets; and ninety-one files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their publications, as issued.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—Its publications, as issued.

WYOMING GEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Santee's "Notes on the Tornado of August 19, 1890, in Luzerne and Columbia Counties, Pennsylvania."

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.—Their "Year-Book," for 1891.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—Their publications, as issued.

ILLUSTRATED AMERICANA OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JAMES F. HUNNEWELL.

OF all the four hundred years that have passed since Columbus made the Western world known to civilized man, the most important in their history and its results are the eight years of the Revolution in our own country. In the long extent of time and material covered by what we call "Illustrated Americana," it is a very short period, and the engravers who then treated its subjects have left us a scantily furnished gallery of their art. To look quite through the whole range of plates that illustrate the two continents since the days of the great discoverer, we must examine thousands, if we would form any adequate idea of their actual and relative character. Fewer hundreds are all we can find, contemporaneously made, to show, in their way, how we grew into a nation, and who helped the growth. No great amount of Art as well as few pieces, we also find. It is, altogether, a lot of old plates, some good, more of them queer, sought for by petty antiquaries, and not worth any profound attention from the masters of thought and of history. That may be what they look like when glanced at, but they mean a great deal more than they at first show. A few notes and remarks about them may be added to a necessarily brief mention of them in a former paper.

They may fairly be considered a class by themselves. Every one of them is now uncommon or rare; every one cannot be mentioned here, for this is not a bibliography. Conclusions after looking at them, and speaking of some of them are all that can be stated here.

When the war impended, or began, the earliest demand was for maps of our country, especially of the coast. Almost as soon there was a call for portraits of the chief actors; and views of places, or illustrations of events soon followed. Each sort, largely the portraits, was supplied until peace came.

The maps are distinct from the engravings, and of them it may briefly be said that not a few are large, finely executed, and valuable. On the whole they show a great deal of the good work, and give us great help in history. Early in the war, London publishers issued sheet-maps; the *Gentleman's Magazine* furnished others, still interesting, to the middle and higher classes; and the Government supplied the navy with the imposing and elaborate "Atlantic Neptune," issued from 1775 to 1782.

Most of the plate engravings were in books. We wish there were more of these plates showing actions, and especially places, for lands, buildings and towns have very much changed. Europe then furnished most of the finer artificial things used here, and it is not strange that most of the plates had their origin there. Art was not really at home here, and little here taught it.

War, however, quickens most things, and brings out men to exercise any required skill otherwise dormant. Engraving had hardly been attempted here, but the times inspired novel efforts. While soldiers came from town and farm, so also, although in numbers relatively less, appeared pioneers of the art.

In the great world abroad it was a Golden Age of engraving. Works were produced in France and Italy that are still admired and eagerly sought. England was then the home of Strange,¹ Bartolozzi,² and Earlom.³ Mezzotints were favorites, and very many then produced are superb. Some of the earliest plates in our Revolutionary Americana are in

¹ Sir (1787) Robert, 1721-92.

² Franceso, 1730-1816; in Eng. 1764-1802.

³ Richard, 1742-1822.

this style, a large portrait of Gov. Pownall (1777),¹ by Earlom, among them. The early demand for portraits was met by over a dozen large mezzotints of prominent men published on sheets in London during 1775, and the three subsequent years. Some of them were, however, engraved at Augsburg. Over a dozen more, of smaller size—all with a remarkable family likeness and rude in workmanship—appeared with German lettering.

As early as April, 1775, Samuel Okey, Newport, R. I., emulous of metropolitan achievements, produced a striking mezzotint of "Mr. Samuel Adams." Some patriotic Rhode Islander may be able to tell us more about the engraver.

A thin little quarto beside the writer shows in a notable way some of the exigencies at the opening of the Revolution. It is the "Manual Exercise" for instructing troops in the Royal, or Loyal, service, issued in Boston in 1764. When training for "rebel" service was started, there was a lack of text-books as aids. Copies of this work appear to have remained unsold, and were adapted to the occasion. The title was suitably altered, and in a heading on page 3, appeared the words "The Manual Exercise as ordered" [by the Provincial Congress] followed by a neat bit of white paper pasted over the original words "by His Majesty." Two folding plates that show military forms were retained. The treatise then became an aid to something very different from the original intent, and the advantages of thrift were in due time apparent.

When soldiers gathered near Boston to begin the war, Ralph Earle, later a well-known artist, and Amos Doolittle, afterwards an engraver, came in a company from New Haven. They visited the sites of the early engagements; the former drew, and the latter cut on copper, two views of the fight at Lexington, and two of that at Concord. All were about 12 x 18 inches in size. Two of them give a little information about buildings, two show the position

¹ Gov. of Mass., 1757-60.

and shape of those at the centre of each town, but scanty details ; more is given of costume. Of portraiture there is nothing, although in the view of Concord town Earl Percy and Colonel Smith are in the foreground. The importance of three other British officers is proved by showing them, on horseback, as high as a two-storied house.

It is easy to say that these views are the most accurate and valuable that we have of the scenes, for there is nothing with which to compare them. As early American engravings they have an interest and value not theirs as works of art, in which they are surpassed by the earliest Italian plates on metal made before 1492. By reason of their subjects and the little illustration these had at the time, they are, however, as Mrs. Stowe's old woman said of men in general, "enough sight better than nothing." John Norman was another pioneer : he gave us portraits. We are aware that our Revolutionary heroes were remarkable men : he and Doolittle made them supernatural, with large heads, long bodies and dwarfed legs. The latter, it has been said, was caricaturing Earl Percy, but with the same peculiarities, and more elaboration, Norman shows us John Hancock. His full-length of General Warren is better ; in a view of that hero's death he has again proved that extraordinary shapes, faces and attitudes are not, in early American plates, caricatures, but evidences of style and capacity in drawing.

At a later date, Norman delineated some allegorical young women engaged in commemorating the earlier battles, who, notwithstanding their looks, were probably not afflicted with the mumps.

Bunker Hill and the battle there, formed a subject for at least three remarkable plates. The first, a large one (12 x 17 inches), was by Bernard Romans, a Dutch engineer in the American service. Reduced in size, this view appeared in the "Pennsylvania Magazine" of 1775. Another (7½ x 4½) was published with Cocking's poem, "The American

War," in 1781, and the third (11 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 in.), "drawn by Mr. Millar," in Barnard's History of England, 1783. The latter two are evidently from the same drawing. In each of the three views there is a river, and at one side a hill; otherwise the topography is impossible, the architecture more than dubious, and the action defiant of printed accounts. They appear to have been drawn by the help of a certain map and a lively imagination.

While the war continued, the portraits outnumbered the views, yet even this number is far from being excessive.

A rival, if not a superior, had preceded, and was contemporaneous with Doolittle and Norman. Paul Revere's plates, so far as they relate to the Revolution, largely treat of subjects that were its precursors several years before it began. The Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre, scenes of events, as his views of Boston, the North Battery, and Harvard College, or portraits, like that of Samuel Adams, or political caricatures, show the versatility of his talents and his industry. It is a question whether he was not more an artist, as well as a more skilful engraver, than any other man in the Colonies during his time; and also whether in historical value, as well as in variety of subjects, his are not the most important American plates of their date.

In the meantime, busy as he was in political or military affairs, he showed that his skill had not been exhausted years before, but was used to no little effect in matters of importance every day through the Revolution. He engraved plates for the paper that passed as money, and while his work might have well been far better, it was a great deal better than the "money."

The later portraits, like the earlier, were as good as many of those that appeared during our last war. The Rev. James Murray wrote an "Impartial History" (London and Newcastle, 1778, 1780), in which there were twenty-six busts in small, oval frames. Some years later, John Andrews (LL.D.), prepared a history including operations in Europe.

This work (1785-6) had twenty-four portraits of various shapes, generally a little round, set in a sort of wall, that are better than Murray's. Histories by Gordon, Ramsay and Stedman contained maps or plans. In 1781, "Impartial History" appeared at Boston, in parts making three volumes, 8°, with portraits by J. Norman, notably like those in Murray.

A long article would be required for a description of the engraved portraits of Washington. Assiduous collectors have found some five hundred specimens — good, bad, or indifferent. Of really good, or in some way important, there are perhaps a hundred, few of which were made before 1783; indeed of the five hundred, a very large part date from this century and from its latter half. From the heading of a handbill, a bust on a postage-stamp or a bank-note, to large, full-length plates, we find these presentations of the Father of his Country.

Caricature has a part in history and politics. It appeared with some rather striking plates early in the war, but when both parties settled to earnest work there was less. Lord North is shown with a teapot pouring its contents into the mouth of a buxom America held down by Lord Mansfield. At a later date, Lord North is pumping water on a prostrate Britannia to revive her in her troubles. Some of the caricatures issued in London were, indeed, as severe as the most radical American patriot would desire. A large plate, with French lettering, dedicated to "Milords" of the English Admiralty, by a member of the American Congress, shows an Admiral — an eagle dressed as a man — tied to a tree, while Congress clips his claws, another party his wings and one Dutchman plucks his feathers that a second carries away for sale. The drawing is said to be from nature at Boston by Corbet in 1778, and the engraving at Philadelphia. Gilray left only one (?) large caricature of events in the Revolution: Rodney presenting Grasse to George III.

Of views, one of the earliest is a large and magnificent

plate in the "Atlantic Neptune," Boston as seen from Dorchester. The same huge work has five colored views of the harbor. It is very much to be regretted that the skilled engravers who made them could not have shown us the sites or scenes of the early and later battles. Little similar comparable work followed. Perhaps the best was "a collection of [16] plates representing the different events of the war," engraved by Ponce and Godefroy, and issued in Paris. The most extraordinary was a series issued at Augsburg, about 1781, purporting to show Boston and other places. The full size of the plates was $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 17 inches—the boldness of the draughtsman was boundless. German architecture of the last century was applied in a way it never was in America, and although the places were made to look as unlike as well could be, anything that existed here, the "views" are valuable and curious evidences of the manner in which our country was then presented to Europe.

Moderate as is the number of plates produced before 1784, all of them cannot be mentioned here, nor can more than an allusion be made to the far greater number illustrative of the Revolution issued during the present century, most of them during its last half. As plates, the majority are the best on the subjects, and as portraits and views, the same may be said. By their quantity, and often by their quality, they show us not alone what we desire to see, but also the regard in which the men of the war and their acts have been held by their successors, and the importance since attached to each.

In contrast, while we look over the early plates, we realize to what a limited extent our country was then a home of art, notably at a period when engraving had reached great development and diffusion abroad. We realize, as we do when examining the cuts made between 1492 and 1550, to what a small degree subjects furnished by America were treated by art. The educated and refined world outside

does not seem to have been interested in us to a flattering extent or to one commensurate with the attention given to political and military affairs. We realize, also, the stern demands of war on our people, and how little time and money they had to spend on illustrations of it.

But matters are comparative as well as positive. Let us see if we were alone in certain respects. A nearly parallel case has, of late been presented.

Two years ago a great nation celebrated on an immense scale the centennial of a revolution that utterly changed its history. There was a vast and magnificent display of not only its own arts and industries, but also those of other nations. None of the "World's Fairs," or national exhibitions, during the past thirty years was as large and extraordinary. It seems as if no other country could surpass, rival or equal the Exposition of 1889; and the writer makes this remark after having seen nearly all the imposing demonstrations of the sort. France fully and impressively showed her position at the close of a hundred years following the events of 1789.

Apart from this, yet with important illustrative connection, there was in a hall at the Louvre a comparatively small exhibition of objects associated with the beginning and the first twenty of the hundred years. There were gathered all obtainable portraits, views, painted dishes, flags, personal relics, pertaining to the French Revolution, and contemporary with it. They were produced when France was distinguished for the skill of her engravers, and of her workers in fine porcelain and tapestry. For the arts she was a home, not a desert.

Great care had evidently been used to make the collection, and what was it? Large, if we take into the account the waste by war, political changes, and heedlessness; not large, estimated by the number, industry and active fancy of the French. Still, if smaller than might be thought or wished, there was probably more than could be gathered about our Revolution, or that of England in 1649, or in

1688. In quality, there was little of the finer art of the country, and much that was rude. It was here also shown that the most and the better engraved illustrations follow, at a distance, the war times to which they refer.

But another, a deeper, a different impression was also made—that there was so little about a very marked period in the French Revolution. There were numerous portraits, but as to what the originals did, it was suggested that there really never was a Reign of Terror.

A few touching personal relics there were, indeed—mute yet eloquent evidence—a cloth dipped in the blood of the Queen, a little suit of clothes made for the Dauphin—some of the chief souvenirs that diligent search could procure to show that a family sovereign through centuries lived and died in Paris. But, if not there, engravings showing the Terror exist.

An American feels very thankful that the great struggle, when a new life for his own country began, cannot show certain subjects. Rough acts there were—it was time of war—but Boston Massacres, or Tory confiscations, were local by-play in comparison. Wise, patient heads of leaders, strong hands of plain folks from shop or farm, in a manly fashion worked out our problem—there was not submission to a godless rabble of a Lyons, Nantes, or Paris. Sins enough here, may be, among individuals, poor enough some of our art in our Revolution, but then as now, there was that simple yet noble characteristic of the genuine American—respect and regard for woman. Not here by the current national authority died a beautiful and great-hearted woman—most exalted in the land; not here by like authority did barbarism slowly grind to death a small, helpless boy—whose crime was that he was his father's son—the descendant of Saint Louis.

We could not soar in art, but we did not sink to certain depths in founding our Republic.

Let our Revolutionary plates be scanty, or poor, so long as we had with them the calm, wise heads that made us a

nation, and along with those heads the plain folks. After all, better the Yankee, plain as his own barn-door, but going to hear the minister preach on a Sunday, and on a week-day doing some talking himself in town-meeting.

When exhaustive search gathers and shows our Revolutionary illustrations, we are glad to feel that there will be no important portion of the subject with a national character that is to be veiled or avoided.

But there will be one cause for reflection that we may well heed. Judging from the rate at which they have already disappeared, we are forced to think that by the end of another century the illustrations made before 1784 may have altogether disappeared. Our patriotic ancestors, in many a place and year, heard orations filled with ardent eloquence; they printed these with explosions of caps., great and small, of italics and exclamation points; and then they made waste-paper of the illustrations. In our time, the early patriots are eulogized in resounding rhetoric; the bold and graceful signature of the great signer of the Declaration of our Independence is lavishly reproduced—and the house of John Hancock—one of the most solid, picturesque, and historic throughout our wide land—is sold for old junk. The libraries of the collectors who take care of books are one by one dispersed. By the increase of wealth, and the spread of enlightenment, the volumes are gathered elsewhere; public thirst for knowledge—and amusement—is satiated; and after awhile the plates are missing.

A hundred years hence when the manners and customs, the enterprise and modesty of our times are talked about, there will be a chance for tributes not those of flattery. Debts are liberally contracted for posterity; it may prove well that we take better care of certain things we have left, if we would wish to have it then decided that we, in our day, with our means, make our bequests as valuable as those left by the men of the Revolutionary time, even in their scanty legacies of Illustrated Americana.

HISTORIC BURIAL-PLACES OF BOSTON AND VICINITY.

BY JOHN M. MERRIAM.

EVERY student of American History will find in early Boston a favorite subject. In her history are the beginnings of all the great social, political and religious progressive movements toward the present America. However great the pride of the native Bostonian, others not so fortunate must excuse and commend it. If Chief Justice Sewall, in his dream of the Saviour's visit to Boston (I. Diary, p. 115) could have looked forward a century and more, he might well have expressed even greater admiration for the "Wisdom of Christ in coming hither and spending some part of his short life here."

Among the many objects so strongly stamped as historic by association with the men and events of early Boston, none to-day possesses keener interest to members of the American Antiquarian Society than the old graveyards. It was with great gratification, therefore, that a party of gentlemen many of whom are members of this Society, was permitted last May, by the invitation of Hon. George F. Hoar, to visit the more important of these ancient burial-places, and later, in July, by the courtesy of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, to visit the old burying-ground and other historic places in Quincy.

The oldest place of burial in Boston is the King's Chapel Yard on Tremont street. Long before this place was associated with King's Chapel, it was a graveyard. Tradition, coming from Judge Sewall, through Rev. Thomas Prince, has it that Isaac Johnson, one of the twelve signers of the agreement "to pass the seas (under God's protection) to

inhabit and continue in New England," signed at Cambridge, August 26, 1629, by Winthrop and his followers, one of the first Assistants, and probably the second white settler on the Boston peninsula, was buried at the southwest corner of his lot, in September, 1630. His lot was the square now enclosed by Washington, School, Tremont and Court streets. According to this old tradition it was around Johnson's grave that the settlers buried their dead, and the place remained for many years the only burial-ground.¹

The earliest interment that is recorded on stone is that of Governor John Winthrop in 1649.² This old Winthrop

¹ This tradition is given in Prince's Annals, Part II., Section 2, p. 2, as follows: "And the late chief Justice *Samuel Sewall*, Esq; informed me; That this *Mr. Johnson* was the principal Cause of settling the town of *Boston*, and so of its becoming the *Metropolis* and had removed hither; had chose for his Lot the great square lying between *Cornhill* on the S. E., *Tree-mountain-Street* on the N. W., *Queen-Street* on the N. E., and *School-Street* on the S. W.; and on his Death-Bed desiring to be buried at the upper End of his Lot, in Faith of his rising in it, He was accordingly Buried there; which gave occasion for the first *Burying Place* of this Town to be laid out round about his Grave."—A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals, by Thomas Prince, M. A. Boston, N. E., 1736.

² The funeral of Governor Winthrop has been so beautifully portrayed by his worthy descendant, the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, that his associates in this society will gladly pardon me if I pause a moment to repeat his description:—"That 13th of April, 1649, must have witnessed a memorable gathering on the spot which these windows of ours now look out upon. It requires no stretch of imagination to depict the scene when the old father of the town and colony, who had brought over the Charter of Massachusetts, as the first full Governor, nineteen years before, and who had held the office of Governor, with the exception of four or five years, during the whole period, was borne at last, as Governor, to his grave. Dudley, then deputy Governor, Endicott, Bellingham, and Bradstreet must certainly have been there. John Cotton, John Wilson, Thomas Shepard, and the revered John Eliot, among the clergy, could not fail to have been present; and the latter may have been attended by a group of the Indians, to whom he was the apostle, and whom Winthrop had uniformly befriended during his life. There is an old family record of one of the Pequod Sagamores coming to Boston at the time, and exclaiming, 'He is alive, he is alive' on seeing the Governor's portrait in the parlor. Increase Nowell, the old secretary, and John Clark were doubtless there, with Winthrop the younger, from Connecticut. Possibly Bradford or some of the Pilgrims may have come from Plymouth, and may have given Morton his account of the 'great solemnity and honor' of the occasion. The artillery officers, probably what is now known as the Ancient and Honor-

tomb is within a rod or two of Tremont street, and the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹ Margaret, the devoted wife of Governor Winthrop, was undoubtedly buried in the same place in 1647. The Winthrop tomb has an especial interest for Connecticut as well as Massachusetts, for here, too, is buried her first Governor, John Winthrop, Jr.² A third Governor, Fitz-John Winthrop, was buried here in 1707.³

able Artillery Company, whose charter had been signed by Winthrop in 1638, are recorded as having been present, and as having taken the responsibility of using a barrel and a half of the colony powder, without leave, for funeral salutes; for which the colony indemnified them at the next meeting of the General Court. . . . There were no religious services or sermons at funerals at that period of our colonial history. . . . No religious exercises were needed, however, to make the occasion a solemn one. Hutchinson, who had access to all the contemporary records, speaks of 'the general grief through the colony'; and it is easy to picture to ourselves the authorities and the people of the town and the neighborhood assembling at the Governor's house, and following the corpse, borne by loving hands, for there were no hearses in those days, to the tomb or grave, which it is now proposed in some quarters to desecrate and do away." (XVII. Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 129.)

¹ The horizontal stone slab is inscribed as follows:

JOHN WINTHROP,
Governor of Massachusetts,
died 1649.
Major General
WAIT STILL WINTHROP
died Sept. 7th, 1717 Aged 76 Years.
ANN WINTHROP SEARS
the Wife of David Sears,
died Oct. 2^d 1789 Aged 33 Years.

² Sewall records his death and burial as follows: "April 5 (1676) Wednesday. Governor Winthrop dyes. Interred old Burying place Monday following." (I. Diary, p. 12.)

³ There are two references to the funeral in Sewall's Diary. The first is in the list of funerals at which Sewall was a bearer. It is as follows: "69 Decr. 4, 1707 The Honble. F. J. Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut. Scarf, Ring, Gloves, Escutcheon. Gov. W. Tomb." (II. Diary, p. 11.) In the body of the Diary is a fuller account. "Dec. 4. Mr. C. Mather preaches a very good funeral sermon. Govr. Winthrop is buried from the Council Chamber, Foot Companies in Arms, and Two Troops. Armor carried, a Led Horse. Bearers, Govr., Mr. Russell; Mr. Cooke, Major Brown; Col. Hutchinson, Sewall; Mr. Secretary, Mr. Sergeant. Father, Son and Grandson ly together in one Tomb in the old burying place. Was a vast concourse of people." (II. Diary, p. 204.)

Again, in 1717, "the regiment attended in arms" at this same tomb at the funeral of Chief Justice and Major-General Wait Still Winthrop, "excellent for Parentage, Piety, Prudence, Philosophy, Love to New England Ways and people very Eminent."¹

Probably there is no tomb in New England that contains the dust of four men who had so much to do with the planting of States as did Governor John Winthrop, his son John, and his grandsons Fitz-John and Wait Still.

Near this tomb which recalls so much of the early political history of New England, is another which brings before us with equal vividness the history of the Puritan Church.²

John Cotton came to New England in 1633, having with difficulty escaped the High Commission, and having been censured by Archbishop Laud because he would not kneel at the sacrament. His own meeting-house has now wholly disappeared, having stood on the site of Brazer's building on State street, and his tomb is included within the limits of a burial-place generally known as the King's Chapel Yard. These early ministers, with the exception of

¹ "The streets were crowded with people; was laid in Gov. Winthrop tomb in Old Burying Place." (III. Sewall's Diary, p. 146.)

² The inscription is as follows:

Here Lyes
Intombed the Bodyes
of the Famous, Reverend
and Learned Pastors of the First
Church of CHRIST in BOSTON:

viz.

Mr. JOHN COTTON, Aged 67 Years; Dec^d. Decm^{br}.
the 23rd, 1652.

Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT, Aged 72 Years; Dec^d.
March the 15th, 1670.

Mr. JOHN OXONBRIDGE, Aged 66 Years; Dec^d.
Decm^{br} the 28th, 1674.

Mr. THOMAS BRIDGE, Aged 58 Years; Dec^d.
September the 26th, 1715.

Thomas Bridge,¹ were all buried before King's Chapel was thought of, and their tomb alone should serve most emphatically to disconnect the history of that church with the history of the adjoining graveyard.

I have been unable thus far to learn the burial-place of John Wilson, the first pastor of the first church, although there is a Wilson tomb in the King's Chapel Yard referred to by Sewall (II. Diary, p. 411), in which a son of Thomas Fitch was buried. He died in 1667, possibly before the ministers' tomb was built. Sewall, in his letter to his son written 1720 to give him an account of the Sewall family, states that "in the year 1667 my father brought me" (to Cambridge) "to be admitted, by which means I heard Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester, preach Mr. Wilson's funeral sermon, 'your fathers, where are they?'" (I. Diary, xiii.)

Governor John Leverett is intombed in the King's Chapel Yard. Sewall refers to his death and burial, but only by a brief entry in his almanac, as follows: "1678-9 March 16, 1. Governour Leverett dieth. 25, 3 Is buried." (I. Diary, p. 48.) He states, however, Vol. III., p. 50, that Mrs. Cooke, Leverett's daughter Elizabeth, was interred July 23, 1715, "In Govr. Leverett's Tomb in Old burying place."

It is recorded on the bronze tablet² at this gate of the King's Chapel Yard that Governor John Endecott was

¹ Thomas Bridge was a friend of Judge Sewall, who records on the day of his death, 1715, "7r. 26 Between 11 and 12 Mr. Bridge expires; with him much primitive Christianity is gone, the Old Church, the Town, the Province have a great loss." The bearers at the funeral were all ministers and represented the Old North, the Roxbury, the Brattle street, the Old South and the New North Churches; Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather; Mr. Walter, Mr. Coleman; Mr. J. Sewall, Mr. Jno. Webb. (III. Sewall's Diary, 59, 60.)

² In order more permanently to mark the burial-places of the early leaders, bronze tablets have been placed on the gates of the old graveyards of Boston. These tablets were suggested by Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop and the inscriptions were written by Dr. Samuel A. Green. Those on the gates at King's Chapel are inscribed as follows:—

buried within its limits.¹ The funeral of Lady Andros occurred Friday, February 10, 1687-8. Judge Sewall

KING'S CHAPEL BURIAL GROUND

1630.

Here were buried

GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

John Winthrop 1649, John Endecott 1665,

John Leverett 1679, William Shirley 1771;

LIEUT. GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

William Phillips 1827, Thomas Lindall Winthrop 1841;

GOVERNORS OF CONNECTICUT.

John Winthrop 1676, Fitz-John Winthrop 1707;

JUDGES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Wait Still Winthrop 1717, Adam Winthrop 1743,

Oliver Wendell 1818, Thomas Dawes 1825;

MINISTERS OF BOSTON

John Cotton 1652, John Davenport 1670,

John Oxenbridge 1674, Thomas Bridge 1715.

KING'S CHAPEL BURIAL GROUND.

1630

Here were buried

Jacob Sheafe 1658, John Winslow 1674,

Mary Chilton 1679,

A passenger in the Mayflower

and wife of John Winslow,

Major Thomas Savage 1682,

Lady Andros 1688,

Captain Roger Clap 1690, Thomas Brattle 1713,

Professor John Winthrop 1776,

James Lloyd 1831, Charles Bulfinch 1844.

¹ Without attempting from my present investigation to throw doubt upon the accuracy of the statement on the above tablet that Governor John Endecott is buried in the King's Chapel Burial Ground, I must refer to evidence which unexplained would show that he was buried in the Granary Burial Ground. There is the following extract from the Records of the Selectmen of Boston to be found in Document 47, 1879, of the City of Boston, p. 4: "P. 185. 1721 March 5. Upon a petition of Mr. John Edwards of Boston, shewing, that whereas there is a tomb in the South Burying place belonging to the Late Governour Endicott, which has been unimproved for many years, and there being no family in said town nearer related to the said Governour Endicott's family than his, desires he may have liberty granted him to make use of it for his family. Granted that the said John Edwards has liberty to improve the said Tomb until a person of better right to it appears to claim it." There is no stone in either ground to mark the tomb, and I have found no reference to either Endicott or Edwards, that would identify it.

attended it "having been invited by the clerk of the South Company."¹

The monument of Thomas Dawes is prominent in this burial-ground. Major Dawes was the architect of the first Brattle-street church. He was an earnest patriot, his name being often associated with the leaders of the Revolution.²

The tomb of Oliver Wendell is number one and is in the extreme corner on Tremont street, and next to the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In this tomb are the remains of the maternal ancestors for two generations of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and many of his family connections. (Document 96, 1879, City of Boston, p. 56.)

Near the King's Chapel Yard and on the opposite side of Tremont street is a larger burying-ground, called at first the South Burying-ground, and later, the Granary.³ This

¹ She was buried in the tomb of Benjamin Church. There is the following reference to her burial in Bridgman, p. 318: a slab on the bottom of the Church tomb states "here lies the bones of Lady Anne Andros." (Bridgman's King's Chapel Inscriptions, p. 318.)

² His epitaph is as follows:

THOMAS DAWES A. A. S.
Born Augt. 5, 1731, Died Jan'y. 2, 1809, Æt. 78.
Of his taste for the Grecian simplicity
In ARCHITECTURE there are many monuments
Which he raised when that art was new to us.
The records of Massachusetts shew
That he was one of her active LEGISLATORS
From the year 1776, until he was 70 years old;
When he retired, with faculties unimpaired.
To the fiscal concerns of this Metropolis,
To its literary and other Institutions,
He was a zealous friend. He was an ELECTOR
At the three first elections of President
of the U. S. and discharged various trusts
To his own honor and the public weal.

³ The tablets on the gates are as follows:—

GRANARY BURIAL GROUND
1660

Within this ground are buried
John Hancock, Samuel Adams

name was taken from the old public granary which stood on the site now occupied by the Park-street Church. This building was used as a large storehouse for grain, at which the poorer people could purchase at a slight advance of cost, and would seem to be an old precedent for the municipal coal-yard, of which much is heard to-day.

The earliest date associated with this old graveyard is 1660. If Governor Endicott was buried there, his must have been among the early interments, as he died in 1665. Dr. Samuel A. Green thinks that at first the Granary and King's Chapel grounds were united and became distinct only as Tremont street assumed more importance than a country lane.¹ A distinct name, however, seems very early to have

and Robert Treat Paine,
Signers of the Declaration of Independence;

GOVERNORS

Richard Bellingham, William Dummer,
James Bowdoin, Increase Sumner,
James Sullivan and Christopher Gore;
Lieut. Governor Thomas Cushing;
Chief Justice Samuel Sewall;
Ministers John Baily, Samuel Willard,
Jeremy Belknap and John Lathrop.

GRANARY BURIAL GROUND

1660

Within this ground are buried
The victims of the Boston Massacre,
March 5, 1770.

Josiah Franklin and wife,
(Parents of Benjamin Franklin)
Peter Faneuil, Paul Revere;
and
John Phillips,
First Mayor of Boston.

¹ See Public Document of City of Boston, 1879, No. 96, p. 47.

"I cannot tell what has become of the fee of the land, but I have an opinion, based upon something I have seen, that these two graveyards were originally one. King's Chapel Graveyard, the oldest in the city, was probably a tract in the outskirts of the village, and undoubtedly interments were made in a part of it which we now call the Granary Burial-ground. Afterwards, when Tremont street was laid out, they found a part of the tract of land that had not been used for burial, and straightened the street and carried it through, making two separate burial-grounds. I have no doubt that at one time in the early history of Boston, the two graveyards were spoken of as the same, but the street having been laid out, they have practically become two distinct grounds."

been applied to the King's Chapel Yard. In 1675, Judge Sewall writes that Governor Winthrop was buried in the "Old Burying place." Again, in 1685, he records that Father Gamaliel Wait and Father John Odlin were buried in the "First Burying place," and in the March following that "Father Porter was laid in the Old Cemetery." These adjectives may have served to distinguish the King's Chapel Yard from the North or Copp's Hill Burying-place, but there seems to be ground to hold that they refer, also, to the South Yard or Granary, which contained Sewall's own tomb, and to which he does not as a rule apply any word of description, although in January, 1701, he records the burial of "Mrs. Thair, in the new burying-place close to the alms house ground." (II. Diary, 29.) When the Granary and Copp's Hill yards were first used in 1660, an order was passed by the selectmen, November 5th, directing that "the old burial place shall be wholly deserted for some convenient season and the new places appointed for burial only made use of." This order has been supposed to refer only to the Copp's Hill ground, and the word "places" has been quoted as "place." The original record, however, shows that the word used was "places." It probably referred to both Copp's Hill and the Granary. It would seem to be, therefore, strong evidence that even in November, 1660, the ground now known as the Granary and the "old burial ground" were distinct.

The earliest tombs were arranged without much order. They are scattered throughout the yard, usually marked with a large horizontal slab. There are rows of tombs on the four sides, in all two hundred and three.

One of the oldest tombs is that of Governor Richard Bellingham, who died in 1672. Governor Bellingham's family seems wholly to have disappeared in a few years, and in 1810, we find Gov. James Sullivan interested in repairing and enlarging this tomb. (City Doc. 47, 1879, p. 11.) Here Governor Bellingham was carried on his death

in 1672. There are two slabs over this tomb. The first is almost level with the ground, the second is supported above it.¹

Another tomb of the same period as that of Governor Bellingham is the Hull or Sewall tomb. In this were placed the remains of Capt. John Hull, the old treasurer and mint master of Boston, his wife, and their daughter

¹ The inscriptions are as follows:—

HERE LIES
RICHARD BELLINGHAM, ESQUIRE.
LATE GOVERNOR IN THE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE
7 DAY OF DECEMBER, 1672,
THE EIGHTY-FIRST YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

VIRTUE'S FAST FRIEND WITHIN THIS TOMB DOTH LYE,
A FOE TO BRIBES, BUT RICH IN CHARITY.

The Bellingham family being extinct,
The Selectmen of Boston in the year 1782
assigned this Tomb to
JAMES SULLIVAN, ESQ.
The remains of Governor Bellingham
are here preserved,
And the above inscription is restored
from the ancient Monument.

The family tomb of
JAMES SULLIVAN, ESQ.,
Late Governor and Commander-in-Chief
of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
who departed this life
on the 10th day of Decr. A. D. 1808,—aged 64 years.
His remains are here deposited

During a life of remarkable industry, activity and
usefulness, amidst public and private contemporaneous
avocations, uncommonly various,
he was distinguished for zeal, intelligence and fidelity.
Public-spirited, benevolent and social,
he was eminently beloved as a man, eminently esteemed
as a citizen, and eminently respected as a magistrate.

Huic versatile ingenium Sic
pariter ad omnia fuit, ut, ad id unum diceres
quod cum que ageret.

Hannah, her husband Judge Sewall and their children, and many descendants. There are many references to this tomb in Sewall's diary.

December 25, 1696, Sewall visits the tomb, at the funeral of his daughter Sarah, and makes an entry in his diary descriptive of the tomb and also characteristic of the writer. He writes, "'Twas wholly dry and I went at noon to see in what order things were set; and then I was entertained with a view of, and converse with, the Coffins of my dear Father Hull, Mother Hull, Cousin Quinsey, and my six children: for the little posthumous was now took up and set upon that that stands on John's; so are three, one upon another twice, on the bench at the end. My Mother ly's on a lower bench, at the end, with head to her husband's head; and I ordered little Sarah to be set on her grandmother's feet. 'Twas an awfull yet pleasing Treat; Having said, The Lord knows who shall be brought hither next, I came away."¹ (I. Diary, p. 443.)

The body of Rev. Samuel Willard, Sewall's pastor at the Old South Church, and Vice-President of Harvard College, was placed temporarily in the Hull-Sewall tomb, September 15, 1707, and was removed to the "new tomb built by the South Congregation," July 31, 1712.

Samuel Sewall of Burlington, Mass., in a letter to Thomas Bridgman, September 21, 1853, states that forty persons in all were buried in this tomb before the Revolution. The more prominent of these persons, in addition to

¹ The slab is inscribed:—

HON^l JUDGE SEWALL'S
Tomb.
*Now the property of his
Heirs.*
PHILIP R. RIDGWAY
1810.
RALPH HUNTINGTON.
1812
N^o 185
Ralph Huntington.

the names already given, were Rev. Joshua Moody, first pastor of the Church at Portsmouth, Rev. William Cooper of the Brattle-street Church, who married Judge Sewall's daughter Judith, and Dr. Joseph Sewall, pastor of the Old South Church.

The tomb of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer is near the centre of the rear of the ground. It is marked by a monument inscribed as follows:—

This TOMB
of the DUMMER
and POWELL Family's
was repaired by
WILLIAM POWELL,
Oct^r 1786.

The next tomb in order of date, that I care to mention, is that of Peter Faneuil, the richest Bostonian of his day, and the donor of Faneuil Hall. This tomb is near the southwest corner of the yard. The first public oration in Faneuil Hall, his gift to Boston, was in eulogy of the donor, who had but recently died.¹

The Granary Yard contains the bodies of many of the leaders of the Revolution, the more prominent being John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine and Paul Revere.

The Hancock tomb is on the south side. On a small slate stone are the words:—

No. 16.
TOMB OF
HANCOCK.

¹ The inscription is below: At the foot of the slab is the first inscription, which can now be faintly traced.

PETER FANEUIL.
MARCH 3, 1743,
JONES. DAVENPORT.
FETTE.
P. Funal.
1743

This Hancock tomb at first stood in the name of Mr. John Hill, but to the list of the Selectmen's office at the end of the volume of records from 1715 to 1729 is added in different ink "Now Thomas Hancock."

Thomas Hancock, the uncle of Governor Hancock, died 1764. The body of Governor Hancock was placed in his uncle's tomb. The funeral was attended by troops and crowds of people, and even the venerable Samuel Adams followed the body to the grave, so long as his strength would permit.

Samuel Adams is buried in the Checkley tomb, which is partly under the sidewalk on Tremont street, and about midway between the gateway and the Tremont House. The small stone is so near the sidewalk that the inscription can easily be read through the fence. At the top is the Checkley Coat of Arms and below the inscription. Adams married for his first wife Elizabeth Checkley, daughter of Rev. Samuel Checkley, and in this way became connected with this old family. The tomb is number sixty-eight. It is the first of thirteen tombs confirmed to the builders, their heirs and assigns, by the selectmen of Boston, March 23, 1736-7 and was then recorded in the name of Mr. Richard Checkley.¹

Near the centre of the yard rests the body of Paul Revere.²

About sixty feet from the north side of the yard and twenty from the sidewalk were buried the bodies of the men

¹

Nº 68 RICHARD CHECKLEY 1737
Hocce meum Corpus, de Funere Viq, Sepulchri
Salvator JESUS, Sarciet ille meus
CHRISTUS erit pestes, Mors Frigida Tuq Sepulchrum
Exitium certum, Mox erit ille Tuum

A modest stone marks the place, inscribed as follows :—

PAUL REVERE,
BORN
IN BOSTON,
JANUARY 1734,
DIED MAY, 1818.

killed in the "Boston Massacre." No stone marks the place, although it is said that for a long time a larch-tree served as a graceful monument.

The Franklin monument opposite the entrance is the most prominent monument in the Granary Yard. The inscriptions tell their own story.¹

In connection with the Franklin monument is an interesting headstone discovered last spring, when the surface of the Granary Burial-ground was spaded and levelled. This stone was in memory of Josiah Franklin's first wife, two of their children, and one child of Josiah and Abiah.²

1. JOSIAH FRANKLIN, AND ABIAH HIS WIFE

LIE HERE INTERRED

THEY LIVED LOVINGLY TOGETHER IN WEDLOCK FIFTY FIVE YEARS. AND WITHOUT AN ESTATE, OR ANY GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT, BY CONSTANT LABOR AND HONEST INDUSTRY, MAINTAINED A LARGE FAMILY COMFORTABLY, AND BROUGHT UP THIRTEEN CHILDREN AND SEVEN GRANDCHILDREN RESPECTABLY. FROM THIS INSTANCE, READER, BE ENCOURAGED TO DILIGENCE IN THY CALLING, AND DIS TRUST NOT PROVIDENCE. HE WAS A PIOUS AND PRUDENT MAN; SHE A DISCREET AND VIRTUOUS WOMAN.

THEIR YOUNGEST SON,

IN FILIAL REGARD TO THEIR MEMORY, PLACES THIS STONE.

J. F. BORN 1655, DIED 1744, Æ. 89.

A. F. ——— 1667, ——— 1752, — 85.

THE ORIGINAL INSCRIPTION HAVING BEEN NEARLY OBLITERATED

A NUMBER OF CITIZENS ERECTED THIS MONUMENT,

AS A MARK OF RESPECT

FOR THE

ILLUSTRIOUS AUTHOR,

MDCCCXXVII.

² The copy given below was made by Dr. Samuel A. Green, and is to be found in remarks on "The New England Courant, | and its | Young Publisher Benjamin Franklin, | 1721-1726," | made by Dr. Green at the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 11, 1891. The line through the inscription represents a break in the stone.

The burial-ground next visited was the Copp's Hill Ground at the North End.¹ Copp's Hill and the Granary were first used as burying-grounds about the same time, in 1659 and 1660, respectively. The earliest reference to this burying-ground in Sewall's diary is in 1685/6, February 3d, when Mr Henry Phillips was buried "in the New burial place." This is the name commonly used by Sewall, although he also refers to it as the "North Burial place." (I. Sewall's Diary, p. 484.) The present enclosure is made of four parcels purchased by the town at different times for

ANN ^K Y	WIFE	OF JOSIAH FRANCKLI ^N
AGED abo ^t 34		YEARS DIED JULY
^K Y 9		1689
JOSEPH SON		OF JOSIAH & ANN
FRANCKLIN		AGED 15 D ^S DIED JULY
^K Y 14		1689
JOSEPH SON		OF JOSIAH & ANN
FRANCKLIN		AGED 5 D ^S DIED FEB ^R
^K Y 1 ^[1] ?		1688
EBENEZER [S]		ON OF JOSIAH & ABIAH
FRANCKLIN		AGED 16 M ^o $\frac{1}{2}$ DIED
FEB ^R []	^K Y 5.	170 $\frac{2}{3}$

¹ The tablet at the gate is inscribed as follows:—

COPP'S HILL BURIAL GROUND
1659.
Here were buried
MINISTERS
Increase Mather 1723, Cotton Mather 1728,
Samuel Mather 1785, Andrew Eliot 1778
and
Thomas Lake, David Copp, Nicholas Upshall,
John Phillips, Anthony Hayward, John Clarke,
and others of the early inhabitants
of Boston.
On this ground were planted
the British Batteries
which destroyed the Village of Charlestown
during the Battle of Bunker Hill
June 17, 1775.

the purpose of a burial-ground. The oldest portion is the northeast corner. The oldest authentic inscription bears the date 1661. It is found on a stone recently unearthed and is as follows:—

David son to David
Copp and Obedience his
wife aged 2 weeks
Dyed Dec 22
1661.

The tomb which has by far the greatest interest is the Mather tomb near the easternmost corner of the yard.¹

The reference in Sewall to the death of Dr. Increase Mather is found in Volume III., p. 326, and the date of his death is given as Friday, August 23. The funeral took place the following Thursday, August 29. "Thursday, Aug. 29th, is buried, Bearers Lt. Govr. Dummer, Samuel Sewall; Mr. President Leverett, Mr. Peter Thacher of Milton; Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Colman. Was carried round the North Meeting House and so up by Capt. Hutchinson's and along by his own House and up Hull Street, into the Tomb in the North burying place and laid by his first wife. Were a vast number of followers and spectators." (Sewall's Diary, III. 326.) There is an apparent conflict between the date of his death as given by Sewall and the date on the slab. I have seen no reason to doubt the date given by Sewall, which is confirmed by the *Boston News-Letter*.

¹ There is a plain horizontal stone slab, on which is inscribed:—

MATHER
TOMB
THE REVEREND DOCTORS
INCREASE, COTTON
& SAMUEL MATHER
were interred in this Vault,
'Tis the Tomb of our Father's
Mather Crockers
I died Aug^t 27th 1723 Æ 84
C died Feby 13th 1727 Æ 65
S died June 27th 1785 Æ 79.

The death and burial of Dr. Cotton Mather are also recorded by Sewall. The following extracts are taken from his diary for 1727-8: "Febr. 13 Tuesday Dr. Cotton Mather dies. Monday Febr. 19 Dr. Cotton Mather is interred: Bearers, the Revd. Mr. Colman, Mr. Thacher; Mr. Sewall, Prince; Mr. Webb, Cooper. The Church went before the Corps. First the Revd. Mr. Gee in mourning alone, then 3 deacons, then Capt. Hutchinson, Adam Winthrop Esqr Col. Hutchinson - Went up Hull Street. I went in a coach. All the council had gloves; I had a pair. It seems when the mourners returned to the House, Mr. Walter said, My Bror. had better bearers: Mr. Prince answered They bore the better part. Mr. Walter prayed excellently." It would seem from this extract that the date of Cotton Mather's death as given on the stone slab is misleading, and that the date on the gate represents the true date, after the necessary change from Old to New Style has been made.

In this same tomb, Rev. Mather Byles was probably buried.

The tomb was opened in 1884, on the death of Rebecca Eaton Parker. Edward McDonald, the superintendent, states that the remains of the Mathers are on the right side of the tomb. It is a large tomb, and undoubtedly contains a score and more of bodies.

The Hutchinson tomb should be mentioned in any account of Copp's Hill burial-ground, however brief. This tomb is marked by a slab on which are the Hutchinson Arms, and the name Thomas Lewis. This tomb seems to have been appropriated, and the original name chiselled off. It is doubtful if the remains of any of the first occupants are there to-day. It is probable that the bodies of Thomas Hutchinson, and Elisha Hutchinson, father and grandfather respectively of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, were placed in this tomb and also the bodies of the wife and son of the Governor, who, after his retirement to England, writes to have them removed to Milton.

There are several stones that are said to bear the marks of English bullets, having been used as targets by the unwelcome Redcoats. The stone of Capt. Daniel Malcom would seem to be the stone most likely to receive such attention from the British soldiers, as the stone records that he was

a true son of Liberty
a Friend to the Publick
an Enemy to oppression
and one of the foremost
in opposing the Revenue Acts
on America.

Copp's Hill derives additional historic interest from the fact, as stated on the gate, that there the batteries were placed which were fired upon Charlestown, June 17, 1775. The surface of Copp's Hill probably is the largest area within the limits of the old Boston that can suggest to-day its appearance at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill.

The Phipps-street Burial-ground in Charlestown is older than Copp's Hill and the Granary. When all of the members of the party had gathered near the Harvard Monument which crowns the hill, Mr. James F. Hunnewell kindly made a statement regarding the burial-ground in substance as follows: "The early settlers generally brought with them the English custom of burying their dead near their places of worship. The Phipps-street Burial-ground is an exception to that custom. It is an early example—probably the first in New England—of a rural cemetery. The meeting-house was in the market-place, and no time before the Revolution did the town extend above Thompson Square. There were only scattered buildings in this part of the town. It was a retired place in the country, very secluded, and not far from the waters of a bay, across which a person could look to Cambridge and Harvard College.

"The earliest burials in town were very near the market-place. Very early in the history of the town, probably in

1640, this burial-place was laid out. There is one interesting feature about the arrangement of the graves. The early families are all represented and the location and direction of their graves correspond with the relative positions of their houses. For example, here are graves of Russells, Carys, Frothinghams, Samsons, Phippses arranged roughly to correspond with the arrangement of their houses.

"The earliest stone bears the date of 1642, and marks the grave of Maud Russell. Another early stone is that of John Fownell, 1654. There are eight stones in all dated earlier than 1670, and one hundred and fifty-eight earlier than 1701. Not many persons of wide reputation are buried here, but there are very many good respectable people.

"The Harvard monument was placed here by the College in 1828. John Harvard died 1638 and it is doubtful where he was buried. There is a tradition that there was a Harvard stone in this burial-ground which stood until the Revolution." This story is told by Edward Everett in his oration at the dedication of the monument erected by the college, as follows: "There is a tradition that till the Revolutionary war, a gravestone was standing within this enclosure over the spot where his ashes repose. With other similar memorials it was destroyed at that period; and nothing but the same tradition remains to guide us to the hallowed spot. Upon it we have erected a plain and simple but we trust permanent memorial."

It would seem that the inference from all that can be learned on the subject is that the remains of Harvard are near the top of this hill. The names of the most prominent people are found here. In 1828, Edward Everett was living in Charlestown and must have been acquainted with persons who could remember how things looked at the Revolution.

The celebrated stone of Elizabeth Phillips is found in

this yard. She was the midwife whose presence at the birth of three thousand children in the course of a busy professional life extending over fifty years is recorded on her gravestone.¹

Some mischievous person has changed this most worthy record from 3,000 to 130,000 by prefixing the figure 1 and adding an 0.

The Mather tomb in the Copp's Hill Burial-ground associates that place with the Old Burial-ground of Dorchester, for in this latter place is buried Richard Mather, the third minister of Dorchester, of whom this Society possesses an original picture. He was the father of Increase and the elder Samuel, and the first of his name in Massachusetts. Richard Mather died in 1669.² Sewall states that he heard

¹ The inscription is as follows :—

Here Lyes Interred y^e Body of
M^{rs} ELIZABETH PHILLIPS, Wife
to M^r ELEAZER PHILLIPS; Who
was Born in *Westminster*, in Great
Brittain, & Commiffioned by John
Lord Bishop of *London*, in y^e Year
1718, to y^e Office of a Midwife; & came
to this Country in y^e Year 1719 & by
y^e Blessing of God has Brought into
this world above 130000 Children.
Died *May* 6th 1761, Aged 76 Years.

² The inscription in memory of Richard Mather is as follows :—

D O M. SACER
RICHARDUS HIC DORMIT MATHERUS
(SED NEC TOTUS NEC MORA DIUTURNA)
LAETATUS GENUISSE PARES
INCERTUM EST UTRUM DOCTORAN MELIOR
ANIMA & GLORIA NON QUEUNT HUMANI
DIVINELY RICH & LEARN'D RICHARD MATHER
SONS LIKE HIM PROPHETS GREAT REJOICED THIS FA^{ther}
SHORT TIME HIS SLEEPING DUST HERES COU^{down}ERD
NOT HIS ASCENDED SPIRIT OR RENOWN
U D M IN AUG. 16 AN^o IN DORC. N A 34 AN^o
OBT. APR 22 1669 AET SUAE 73.

him preach, presumably at Cambridge, the funeral sermon of John Wilson, in 1667. At the entrance to this burial-place is another of the bronze tablets for which Boston is indebted to Dr. Green.¹

The monument of Governor Stoughton is the object of greatest interest in the Dorchester Burial-ground. Sewall refers to the death and funeral of Governor Stoughton, July 13 and 15, 1701, but evidently he did not attend the funeral. Later, however, Feby. 1, 1703/4, he visits Dorchester, and writes, "Before Lecture, I rid into the Burying place and read Mr. Stoughton's Epitaph, which is very great." (II. Diary, p. 94.)

The epitaph to which he refers was repaired by Harvard College in 1828, and can be distinctly read to-day.²

¹ The inscription is as follows:—

DORCHESTER BURIAL GROUND

Here were buried

GOVERNORS

William Stoughton 1701, William Tailler 1732;

MINISTERS

Richard Mather 1660, Josiah Flint 1680,

John Danforth 1730, Jonathan Bowman 1775,

Moses Everett 1813, Thaddeus Mason Harris 1842;

Major Gen. Humphrey Atherton 1661,

William Pole, Schoolmaster, 1674,

John Foster, First Printer of Boston, 1681,

Isaac Royall 1739, James Blake, Annalist, 1750,

and Ebenezer Clapp 1881.

²

Gulielmus Stoughtonus, Armiger,

Provinciae Massachusettensis in Nova Anglia Legatus

deinde Gubernator;

Nec-non Curiae in eadem Provincia Superioris

Iusticiarius Capitalis,

Hic Jacet

Vir Conjugij Nescius,

Religione Sanctus,

Virtute Clarus,

Doctrina Celebris,

Ingenio Acutus

Sanguine et animo pariter Illustris,

"The monument over Stoughton's grave in the Dorchester Burial-ground having fallen, the Corporation of the College, in 1828, caused it to be repaired, and the tablet which was 'cracked in two' cemented. The elegant epitaph on it, adapted, it is said, by Mather, corresponds nearly word for word with the one by Aimonius Proust de Chambourg, Professor of law in the University of Orleans, which is inscribed on the tomb of Blaise Pascal, who died in 1662." (Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. I., p. 207.)

This epitaph was the tribute of the President of Harvard College to the Chief Judge who sat on the trials of the Salem witches, and who, as tradition states, felt no repentance for the deeds of that court, saying he had no confession to make as he had acted according to the best light God had given him. (I. Sewall's *Diary*, p. 446.)

The tomb of Humphrey Atherton is marked with a large

Aequitatis Amator,
Legum Propugnator,
Collegij Stoughtoniani Fundator,
Literarum & Literatorum Fautor Celeberrimus
Impietatis & Vitij Hostis Acerrimus,
Hunc Rhetores amant Facundum,
Hunc Scriptores norunt Elegantem
Hunc Philosophi quaerunt Sapientem
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
Hunc Pii venerantur Austerum,
Hunc Omnes Mirantur; Omnibus Ignotum
Omnibus licet Notum
Quid Plura, Viator! Quem perdidimus
Stoughtonum!
Heu!
Satis dixi, Urgent Lachrymae,
Sileo,
Vixit Annos Septuaginta;
Septimo Die Julij, Anno Salutis 1701
Cecidit.
Heu! Heu! Qualis Luctus!

horizontal slab, at the top of which is a sword and below an inscription.¹

It is unfortunate that Major-General Humphrey Atherton, whose virtues are recorded in this epitaph, is said to have met his death as he was riding home from a review of his troops in Boston, as his horse came into collision with a stray cow. The manner of his death undoubtedly gave rise to stories not wholly creditable, as we find that "Thomas Maule, Shopkeeper of Salem," was called into Court in 1695 to answer for his printing and publishing a pamphlet "stuffed with notorious Lyes and Scandals." The book was ordered to be burned and the writer acknowledged that what was written concerning the circumstances of Major-General Atherton's death was a mistake. (I. Sewall's Diary, p. 416.)

The epitaph over the tomb of William Pole, school-master, is one of the most remarkable in this burial-ground. It is as follows:—

^e
Y . EPITAPH . OF . WILLIAM . POLE . WHICH . HE . HIMSELF
MADE . WHILE . HE . WAS . YET . LIVING . IN . REMEMBRANCE . OF
HIS . OWN . DEATH . & . LEFT . IT . TO . BE . INGRAVEN . ON . HIS
TOMB . Y . SO . BEING . DEAD . HE . MIGHT . WARN . POSTERI^{ty}
OR . ARESEMBLANCE . OF . A . DEAD . MAN . BESPEAKING . Y^{reader}
HO . PASSENGER . TIS . WORTH . THY . PAINS . TOO . STAY
& . TAKE . A . DEAD . MANS . LESSON . BY . Y^e . WAY
I . WAS . WHAT . NOW . THOU . ART . & . THOU . SHALT . BE

1

[Sword.]

HEARE . LYES . OUR . CAPTAINE . AND . MAIOR . OF . SUFFOLK . WAS . WITHALL
A . GODLY . MAGISTRATE . WAS . HE . AND . MAIOR . GENERALL
TWO . TROVPS . OF . HORS . WITH . HIME . HERE . CAME . SUCH . WORTH . HIS .
LOVE . DID . CRAVE
TEN . COMPANIES . OF . FOOT . ALSO . MOVRNING . MARCHT . TO . HIS . GRAVE
LET . ALL . THAT . READ . BE . SURE . TO . KEEP . THE . FAITH . AS . HE . HAS . DON
WITH . CHRIST . HE . LIVES . NOW . CROWNED . HIS . NAME . WAS . HUMPHREY .
ATHERTON

HE . DYED . THE . 16 . OF . SEPTEMBER . 1661

WHAT . I . AM . NOW . WHAT . ODDS . TWIXT . ME . & . THEE
 NOW . GO . THY . WAY . BUT . STAY . TAKE . ONE . WORD . MORE
 THY . STAF . FOR . OUGHT . THOU . KNOWEST . STANDS . NEXT . Y^{dore}
 DEATH . IS . Y . DORE . YEA . DOR . OF . HEAVEN . OR . HELL^e
 BE . WARNED . BE . ARMED . BELIEUE . REPENT . FAREWELL²

The Old Roxbury Burial-ground at the corner of Washington and Eustis streets is the last of the more important burial-places of Boston.¹

The Dudley tomb is covered by a perfectly plain slab inscribed with the one word DUDLEY. Yet this tomb approaches most nearly in historic interest the Winthrop tomb in the King's Chapel Yard.

Here are the remains of Winthrop's Deputy, Thomas Dudley, who was also four times called to serve as Governor. His son, Joseph Dudley, for many years Governor, is buried in the same tomb.²

¹ At the gate is the inscription:—

ROXBURY BURIAL GROUND

Here were buried

GOVERNORS

Thomas Dudley 1653, Joseph Dudley 1720;
 Chief Justice Paul Dudley 1752, Col. William Dudley 1743

MINISTERS

John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, 1690,
 Thomas Walter 1725, Nehemiah Walter 1850,
 Oliver Peabody 1752, Amos Adams 1775,
 Eliphalet Porter 1833,

and

Benjamin Tompson, Schoolmaster and Physician, 1714.

² We have the following account of his funeral:—

"April 3 (1720) Govr. Dudley is buried in his father Govr. Dudley's Tomb at Roxbury. Boston and Roxbury Regiments were under Arms, and 2 or 3 Troops: Bearers, His Excellency Governor Shute, Samuel Sewall; Col. Townsend, Col. Appleton; Mr. President Leverett, Col. Samuel Brown. Scarvs, Rings, Gloves, Scuteheons. Counsellors and Ministers had scarvs, and Consulary Men. Col. Otis, Thaxter, Quiney, Dows, Norden, Judge Lynde, Col. Pain were there out of Town . . . were very many people, spectators out of windows, on Fences and Trees likē Pigeons. The Bells in Boston were rung for the Funeral; which was finished when the sun was near an hour high." (III. Sewall's Diary, p. 249.)

Paul Dudley, the son of Joseph, rests with his father and grandfather. He was a talented and able lawyer and judge, and served from 1745 to his death in 1752 as Chief Justice, and was the founder of the Dudleian lectures at Harvard.

The Parish tomb¹ is near the Dudley tomb and is most noted as containing the ashes of John Eliot.²

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF
JOHN ELIOT.

The

APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS.

Ordained over the First Church Nov. 5, 1632

Died May 20, 1690. Aged LXXXVI.

Also, of

THOMAS WALTER

Ordained Oct. 19, 1718, Died Jan. 10, 1725,

Aged XXIX.

NEHIMIAH WALTER

Ordained Oct. 17, 1688. Died Sept. 1750.

Aged LXXXVII.

OLIVER PEABODY

Ordained Nov. 7, 1750. Died May 29, 1752

Aged XXXII.

AMOS ADAMS

Ordained Sept. 12, 1753. Died Oct. 5, 1775

Aged LIV.

ELIPHALET PORTER

Ordained Oct. 2, 1782. Died Dec. 7, 1833.

Aged LXXV.

¹ Sewall has the following passages relating to the death and funeral of Eliot: "Wednesday, May 21, 1690. Mr. Eliot dies about one in the morning: I visited him as I came from New York: This puts our election into mourning." "Friday, May 23. After having sat in Council awhile went to Mr. Eliot's funeral; Governour [Simon Bradstreet] and Dept. Governour [Thomas Danforth] &c. there. Bearers, Mr. Allin, Morton, Willard, Fiske, Hobart, Nehem, Thatcher. Mr. Torrey and Danforth not there. Mr. Duñier of York there: He comes to ask help; Tis doleful news we have to celebrate Mr. Eliot's funeral with. Casteen is said to head about 70 French, and Indians are above Two Hundred. Capt. Willard came away the very day before the attack."

Another stone which attracted general attention was that which marks the burial-place of "ye herse"¹ of Mr. Benj. Tompson, learned schoolmaster and physician, and renowned poet of New England.²

This completes the account of the more prominent graves visited under the circumstances stated. The account is necessarily brief and dry, and cannot express the satisfaction and gratification of all members of the party, and their keen appreciation of the kind thoughtfulness of their leader and host.

Later, in July as has already been stated, the same party visited Quincy as guests of Mr. Charles Francis Adams.

The Old Braintree Burial-ground, or the Hancock cemetery of Braintree, as it was known before there was a town of Quincy, deserves a high place in a list of the historic graveyards of New England. Representatives of many of the leading colonial families were buried there, families which have since become still more eminent by the lives of many honorable and famous descendants.

As in several other burial-grounds already described so here there is a "Ministers' Tomb." In it were placed the bodies of the following ministers of the First Church:—

Rev. Moses Fiske, 3d minister; Rev. Joseph Marsh,

¹ The use of the word "herse" on gravestones was at that time not uncommon, and other instances will be found in Braintree. The original meaning was the coffin or vessel containing a body, but now it is applied only to the vehicle for the dead.

² The inscription on this stone is:—

SUB SPE IMMORTALI. Y^e
HERSE OF M^r BENJ THOMPSON
LEARNED SCHOOLMASTER
& PHYSICIAN A Y^e
RENOWNED POET OF N. ENGL:
ORBIT APRILIS 17th ANNO DOM
1764 AETATIS SVAE 72.
MORTUUS SED IMMORTALIS.
BE THAT WOULD TRY
WHAT IS TRUE HAPPINESS INDEED
MUST DIE.

4th minister; Rev. John Hancock, 5th minister; Rev. Anthony Wibird, 7th minister; Rev. Peter Whitney, 8th minister.¹

¹ On the face of the horizontal slab is the inscription:—

Mr. Fiske, 3^d Minister in this Town dec Aug 10, 1708
in the 36th year of his ministry Æt 65.
Braintrey! thy Prophet's gone this tomb inters
The reverend Moses Fisk his sacred herse,
Adore Heav'ns Praise-ful art that form'd the man
Who souls not to himself but Christ oft wan
Sail'd thro the Straits with Peter's family,
Renowned and Galus's Hospitality
Paul's patience, James his prudence, Johns sweet love.
Is landed, enter'd clear'd, crown'd above,
Obliit August the X MDCCVIII Aetatis
suæ LXVI
Mr^s Ann Marsh died May 27, 1773 Age 95.
Rebuilt by the Ladies of Quincy, 1812.

Mr Fisk's wives were here entombed
viz Sarah dec Dec 2, 1692 Æt 39
2^d Anna formerly wife of Dan^l Quincy
and mother of Hon John Quincy
dec July 21, 1708 Æt [47]5

On the sides are the inscriptions:—

Here rest the remains of
REV. JOSEPH MARSH, 4th Minister of the
1st Cong. Church in this Town, dec^d March 8, 1725-6,
in the 41st year of his age, and the 17th of his ministry;
REV JOHN HANCOCK, 5th Minister of the
1st Cong. Church in this Town, and father of
JOHN HANCOCK the Patriot, dec^d May 7, 1744.
in the 42^d year of his age, and the 18th of his ministry;
REV ANTHONY WIBIRD, 7th Minister of the
1st Cong Church in this Town,
dec^d June 4th 1800 in the 46th year
of his Ministry, aged 72 years.

Here rest the remains of
NORTON QUINCY Esq. dec^d Sep. 29, 1801, Æt 84 yrs 11 mo 2 d^s.
REV PETER WHITNEY, 8th Minister of the 1st Cong. Church
in this Town, dec^d March 3, 1843, in the 74th year of his age
and the 44th of his ministry,
and Mr^s JANE, his wife, dec^d Nov. 11, 1832, in the 57th year of her age;
ABBY WARREN, daughter of REV W. P. LUNT
dec^d Sept 12, 1841, Æt 15 mos. 4 d^s.

The stone that bears the earliest date is over the first minister, Rev. William Tompson.¹

The earliest interment, however, of which there is record is that of Mrs. Joanna Hoar, mother of John Hoar, ancestor of the illustrious Massachusetts family bearing this name. The tomb in which she was buried is known as the tomb of her son Dr. Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College.²

¹ It is inscribed:—

HERE LYES BURIED Y^e *
 BODY OF Y^e REUERED
 MR WILLIAM TOMPSON
 Y^e FIRST PASTOR OF
 BRAINTRY CHURCH WHO
 DECEASED DECEMBER Y^e 10
 1666 ÆTATIS SUE 68

*He was a learned, solid, sound divine,
 Whose name and fame in both England did shine.*

² The inscription which was restored some years ago by the Honorable George F. Hoar, is as follows:—

THREE PRECIOUS FRIENDS UNDER THIS TOMBSTONE LIE,
 PATTERNS TO AGED, YOUTH, AND INFANCY,
 A GREAT MOTHER, HER LEARNED SON, WITH CHILD,
 THE FIRST AND LEAST WENT FREE, HE WAS EXILED
 IN LOVE TO CHRIST, THIS COUNTRY, AND DEAR FRIENDS
 HE LEFT HIS OWN, CROSS'D SEAS, AND FOR AMENDS
 WAS HERE EXTOLL'D, ENVY'D, ALL IN A BREATH,
 HIS NOBLE CONSORT LEAVES IS DRAWN TO DEATH,
 STRANGER CHANGES MAY BEFALL US ERE WE DIE,
 BLEST THEY WHO WELL ARRIVE ETERNITY.
 GOD, GRANT SOME NAMES, O THOUGH NEW ENGLAND'S FRIEND,
 DON'T SOONER FADE THAN THINE, IF TIMES DON'T MEND.

EPITAPH WROTE FOR THE TOMB OF
 LEONARD HOAR, DOCTOUR OF
 PHYSICKE WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
 IN BOSTON THE 28 NOVEMBER
 WAS INTERRED HERE THE 6 DECEMBER
 AND WAS AGED 45 YEARS.
 ANNO DOM. 1675.

The great mother referred to in this epitaph is Mrs. Joanna Hoar, who died 1661.

One of her daughters, Margery, married Rev. Henry Flint, both of whom are buried near by under a stone with the following inscription:—

Here lyes interred y^e Body of y^e Rev^d M^r HENRY FLYNT who came to New England in y^e Year 1635, was Ordained y^e first Teacher of y^e Church of *Braintry* 1639, and Died *April* 27, 1668. He had y^e Character of a Gentleman Remarkable for his Piety Learning Wifdom & Fidelity in his Office. By him on his right hand lyes y^e Body of MARGERY his beloved confort who Died *March* 1686/7. her maiden name was HOAR. She was a Gentlewoeman of Piety, Prudence & peculiarly accomplished for instructing young Gentlewoemen, many being sent to her from other Towns, especially from *Boston*. *They descended from antient and good familys in ENGLAND*

The ancestral line of President John Adams can be traced, step by step, on the tombstones in this cemetery.

First, there is Henry Adams the emigrant, in whose memory is the following inscription, written by John Adams:—

In memory of
HENRY ADAMS

who took his flight from the Dragon persecution in Devonshire, in England, and alighted with eight sons, near Mount Wollaston. One of the sons returned to England: and after taking time to explore the country, four removed to Medfield and the neighbouring towns. Two to Chelmsford. One only, Joseph, who lies here at his left hand remained here, who was an Original Proprietor in the Township of Braintree incorporated in the year 1639.

This Stone and several others have been placed in this yard, by a great-great grandson from a veneration of the piety, humility, simplicity, prudence, patience, temperance,

frugality, industry, and perseverance of
his Ancestors, in hopes of recommending
an imitation of their virtues to their
Posterity.

This inscription is on a marble slab set into a flat granite slab. At the foot is the original stone in which there is a recess in which probably a metal plate bearing an inscription was placed.

The inscription accompanying the above in memory of Joseph Adams, senior, is as follows :—

Dedicated
to the memory of
JOSEPH ADAMS, senior
who died December 6, 1694,
and of Abigail his wife
whose first name was
Baxter, who died Aug. 27,
1692 : by a great grandson
in 1817¹

The third step in the line of descent is represented in the inscription :—

In memory of
JOSEPH ADAMS, son of
Joseph senior and grandson of
Henry and of Hannah his wife,
whose maiden name was
Bass, a daughter of
Thomas Bass & Ruth Alden,

¹ The older stones marking the graves of Joseph and Abigail (Baxter) Adams are inscribed :—

HERE LYETH BURIED
Y BODY OF
JOSEPH ADAMS SENIOR
AGED 68 YEARS
DIED DECEMBER Y 6
1 6 9 4

HERE LYETH BURIED
Y BODY OF
ABIGAIL ADAMS WIFE
TO JOSEPH ADAMS SENI^{OR}
AGED 58 YEARS
DIED AUGUST Y 27
1 6 9 2

parents of John Adams,
and grand parents
of the lawyer
John Adams.
Erected December 1823.

Another stone, similar to the three already described, marks the burial-place of John Adams, son of Joseph, Jr., and father of the "Lawyer" and President, inscribed as below :—

SACRED
to the memory of
M^R JOHN ADAMS
who died
May 25, A D 1761
Aged 70.

The name Quincy is seen on many stones in this old burying-ground.

The grave of Edmund Quincy is marked,

EDMUND QUINCY
A. D. 1698.
AGED 70 YEARS.

Judge Sewall visited Edmund Quincy, who was an uncle of Hannah, his wife, several times in his last illness. His death is recorded by Sewall in 1697-8 "Seventh day, Jan^y 8. between ten and 11 m. Parmiter comes in, and tells us that Unckle Quinsey died between 7 and 8 last night. A true New England man, and one of our best friends is gone. Fourth day Jan^y 12 1697-8 went to the funeral of my dear Unckle, Went in the coach, our horse failing us, . . Had my wife, Cousin Quinsey, and Madam Dudley. Bearers were Col. Paige, Lt. Col. Hutchinson, Mr. Addington, Mr. E^m Hutchinson, Major Townsend, Capt. Duñer, Major Hunt, and Ens. Peniman; had scarves. Ens. Peniman was the only commision officer of Braintry that could come abroad. Ministers there, Mr. Torrey, Mr. Willard, Mr. Fisk, Thacher, Danforth, Baxter; I saw from Boston Capt. Hill, Mr. Eliot, Mr. Tay, Beñet; Mr. Palmer

waited on his father and mother Hutchinson." (I. Diary, 466-7.)

The wife of Edmund Quincy was Joanna Hoar, daughter of Mrs. Joanna Hoar and sister of Mrs. Margery Flint and President Leonard Hoar.¹

One other inscription should be given in this connection. It is in honor of Josiah Quincy, Jun., and was written by John Quincy Adams.²

¹ The stone marking her grave is inscribed:—

HERE LYETH BURIED
 THE BODY OF MRS
 JOANNA QUINSEY
 WIFE OF MR
 EDMUND QUINSEY
 AGED 55 YEARS
 DYED THE 16th OF
 MAY 1680.

²

SACRED
 To the memory
 of
 JOSIAH QUINCY JUN^r
 late of Boston, Barrister at Law,
 Youngest Son of Josiah Quincy, late of this town, Esquire.
 Brilliant Talents, uncommon Eloquence, and indefatigable application
 Raised him to the highest eminence in his profession.
 His early enlightened, inflexible attachment to
 The cause of his Country,
 Is attested by Monuments more durable than this,
 and transmitted to posterity
 By the well known productions of his Genius.
 He was born the 23^d February, 1744,
 And died the 26th April 1775.
 His mortal remains are here deposited,
 With those of ABIGAIL his wife,
 Daughter of William Phillips, of Boston, Esquire,
 Born on the 14th of April 1745,
 Died on the 25th of March 1798.
 STRANGER,
 In contemplating this Monument
 as the frail tribute of filial gratitude and affection.
 Glows thy bold breast with patriotic flame?
 Let *his* example point the paths of fame;
 Or seeks thy heart, averse from public strife,
 The milder grace of domestic life?
 Her kindred virtues let thy soul revere.
 And o'er the *best of mothers* drop a tear.

The Adams line is continued in the granite church which stands near the cemetery. Under the vestibule of this church in vaulted chambers are the bodies of John Adams, his wife Abigail, John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Adams. Memorial tablets have been placed on either side of the pulpit in the body of the church.¹ The burial-

1

LIBERTATEM AMICITIAM FIDEM RETINEBIS

D. O. M.

Beneath these Walls
Are deposited the Mortal Remains of

JOHN ADAMS,

Son of John and Susanna [Boylston] Adams,
Second President of the United States.

Born $\frac{1}{30}$ October 1735.

On the fourth of July 1776

He pledged his Life, Fortune and Sacred Honour
To the INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.

On the third of September 1783

He affixed his Seal to the definitive Treaty with Great Britain
Which acknowledged that Independence.

And consummated the Redemption of his Pledge.

On the fourth of July 1826

He was summoned

To the Independence of Immortality,
And to the JUDGMENT OF HIS GOD.

This House will bear witness to his Piety :

This Town, his Birth-Place, to his Munificence :

History to his Patriotism :

Posterity to the Depth and Compass of his Mind.

At his Side

Sleeps till the Trump shall Sound

ABIGAIL,

His beloved and only Wife,

Daughter of William and Elizabeth [Quincy] Smith.

In every Relation of Life a Pattern

Of Filial, Conjugal, Maternal and Social Virtue.

Born November $\frac{1}{22}$ 1744,

Deceased 28 October 1818.

Aged 74.

Married 25 October 1764.

During an Union of more than Half a Century

chamber is entered from the basement of the church and is guarded by a granite door which is opened with difficulty. On either side of the entrance are the bodies of John Adams to the left, and Abigail Adams on the right. The original

They survived, in Harmony of Sentiment, Principle and Affection
 The Tempests of Civil Commotion;
 Meeting undaunted, and surmounting
 The Terrors and Trials of that Revolution
 Which secured the Freedom of their Country;
 Improved the Condition of their Times:
 And brightened the Prospects of Futurity
 To the Race of Man upon Earth.

PILGRIM.

From Lives thus spent thy earthly Duties learn;
 From Fancy's dreams to active Virtue turn:
 Let Freedom, Friendship, Faith, thy Soul engage,
 And serve like them thy Country and thy Age.

ALTERI SECCULO

A - O

Near this Place
 Reposes all that could die of

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Son of John and Abigail [Smith] Adams,
 Sixth President of the United States,
 Born 11 July, 1767.

Amidst the Storms of civil Commotion
 He nursed the Vigor

Which nerves a Statesman and a Patriot,
 And the Faith

Which inspires a Christian.

For more than half a Century,
 Whenever his Country called for his Labors,
 In either Hemisphere or in any Capacity,
 He never spared them in her Cause.

On the twenty fourth of December, 1814,
 He signed the second Treaty with Great Britain,

Which restored Peace within her Borders,

On the twenty third of February, 1848,
 He closed sixteen years of eloquent Defence
 Of the Lessons of his Youth,

By dying at his Post

In her great national Council.

chamber was only for two bodies, but it was enlarged towards the right for the bodies of John Quincy Adams and his wife. Each body is in a massive granite sarcophagus, securely sealed by heavy granite slabs. Each sarcophagus is marked in plain capital letters with the full name.

	JOHN	LOUISA
JOHN ADAMS.	ABIGAIL ADAMS.	QUINCY CATHERINE
	ADAMS.	ADAMS.

From this historic and sacred church the party proceeded past the site of the oldest church in Braintree, in the middle of the highway, to the Episcopal Church, where records were shown under date of 1728 in the hand of Rev. Ebenezer Miller, who was appointed Missionary for Braintree, N. E., in 1727. The records of baptism of slaves, and prayer-books mutilated by the tearing out of the prayers for the King, were historic relics dearly prized. In the

A Son worthy of his Father
A Citizen, shedding glory on his Country,
A Scholar, ambitious to advance Mankind,
This Christian sought to walk humbly
In the Sight of his God.

Beside him lies
His Partner for fifty Years

LOUISA CATHERINE

Daughter of Joshua and Catherine [Nuth] Johnson.

Born, 12 February, 1775,

Married, 26 July 1797,

Deceased, 15 May, 1852.

Aged 77.

Living through many Vicissitudes, and
Under high Responsibilities,
As a Daughter, Wife and Mother,
She proved equal to all.
Dying, she left to her Family and her Sex
The blessed Remembrance
Of a 'Woman that feareth the Lord.'

"Herein is that saying true, one soweth and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that whereon
Ye bestowed no labor, other men labored and ye are entered into their labors."

Episcopal cemetery is the tomb of Ebenezer Miller, who died in 1763, and the grave of Ralph Shirley, an infant son of Governor Shirley, who was born Jan., 1734, and died while his parents were in Quincy, Aug., 1737.

The old Adams houses where, it is stated, John Adams and John Quincy Adams were born, are together, a short distance from the centre of the city. These houses are still carefully preserved and are occupied.

The old Quincy house is an inviting residence, after the colonial style. The house was built in 1705, or 1707, by Edmund Quincy, 3d, who married Dorothy Flynt. Here was the home of Tutor Flynt, the well-known tutor of Harvard College. The tutor's chamber is still pointed out. Indeed, the house and grounds are so little changed that Judge Sewall, could he visit them, would know perfectly how to turn into Cousin Quincy's, and how to find "the chamber next to the Brooke," in which he lodged, March 28, 1712.

The pleasures of a visit to the old Quincy house were an introduction to those of seeing the Adams homestead, the home of John Adams in his old age, of his son and grandson, filled with the family portraits and with the library of John Quincy Adams close by. A description of these pleasures and many others of the day is not properly within the scope of my subject, and reference to them is given merely to complete an outline of the day spent at Quincy.

The last inscription in honor of the Adams line is the following, over the grave of Hon. Charles Francis Adams in the Mount Wollaston Cemetery:—

THIS . STONE
MARKS . THE . GRAVE . OF
CHARLES . FRANCIS . ADAMS
SON . OF . JOHN . QUINCY
AND . LOUISA . CATHERINE (JOHNSON)
ADAMS

BORN . 18 . AUGUST . 1807
TRAINED . FROM . HIS . YOUTH . IN . POLITICS . AND . LETTERS
HIS . MANHOOD . STRENGTHENED . BY . THE . CONVICTIONS

WHICH . HAD . INSPIRED . HIS . FATHERS
 HE . WAS . AMONG . THE . FIRST . TO . SERVE
 AND . AMONG . THE . MOST . STEADFAST . TO . SUPPORT
 THAT . NEW . REVOLUTION
 WHICH . RESTORED . THE . PRINCIPLES . OF . LIBERTY
 TO . PUBLIC . LAW
 AND . SECURED . TO . HIS . COUNTRY
 THE . FREEDOM . OF . ITS . SOIL
 DURING . SEVEN . TROUBLED . AND . ANXIOUS . YEARS
 MINISTER . OF . THE . UNITED . STATES . IN . ENGLAND
 AFTERWARDS . ARBITRATOR . AT . THE . TRIBUNAL . OF . GENEVA
 HE . FAILED . IN . NO . TASK . WHICH . HIS . GOVERNMENT . IMPOSED
 YET . WON . THE . RESPECT . AND . CONFIDENCE
 OF . TWO . GREAT . NATIONS

DYING . 21 . NOVEMBER . 1886
 HE . LEFT . THE . EXAMPLE
 OF . HIGH . POWERS . NOBLY . USED
 AND . THE . REMEMBRANCE
 OF . A . SPOTLESS . NAME .

BY . HIS . SIDE
 SLEEPS . HIS . WIFE
 ABIGAIL . BROWN
 DAUGHTER . OF . PETER . CHARDON
 AND . ANNE (GORHAM) BROOKS
 BORN . APRIL . 25 . 1808
 MARRIED . SEPTEMBER . 3 . 1829
 DIED . JUNE . 6 . 1889
 HIS . COMPANION . AND . SUPPORT
 IN . PRIVATE . LIFE . AND . PUBLIC . STATION
 LOVED . AND . HONORED
 TRUSTED . AND . TRUE

THE GALÁPAGOS ISLANDS.

BY GEORGE BAUR.

It was by an accident that my attention was directed to a study of the Galápagos Islands. On the 9th of January, 1889, when assistant of Prof. O. C. Marsh of New Haven, a big land-tortoise from the miocene of Nebraska was unpacked at the Yale University Museum. This tortoise resembled very much the gigantic forms of the Galápagos Islands. The question at once arose: How did these large *land*-animals come to the *islands*? In the evening of the same day I wrote in my diary: "What is the origin of the Galápagos fauna? It is not introduced, but left there; the Galápagos originated through subsidence of a larger area of land; they do not represent oceanic islands, as generally believed, but are continental islands."

From this date I began to study the different works and notes, which had been written on the islands, becoming more and more convinced that my opinion was correct, and that an examination of the group would be of the greatest interest, not only in the question of the origin of continents and oceans but also in that of the origin of species. No other group of islands afforded such a splendid opportunity for the examination of these questions. They had never been inhabited by man before their discovery by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century; the first small colony was established on Charles Island in 1832, but does not exist to-day. Now a settlement is found only on Chatham Island. It was to be expected, therefore, that nearly all the islands presented their original condition,

only influenced in a small degree by man. After I had resigned my position with Professor Marsh, in January, 1890, it occurred to me that it might, perhaps, be possible to bring together the necessary funds for an expedition to the islands. In February, I worked out a plan for an expedition, which was presented, through Prof. v. Kupffer, to the Royal Academy of Berlin. The matter was discussed by the Academy but it was concluded that the high sum of 20,000 marks, which I had considered necessary for a complete biological and physiographical survey of the islands would probably not be in accordance with the results obtained. After this the matter was laid before various institutions in this country, but with the same negative result. During this time, I published two papers on the Galápagos; one about the gigantic tortoises, and one about the variation of the lizard *Tropidurus*. It was in the latter paper that I expressed, for the first time in print, my opinion of the continental origin of these islands.

After I had been appointed to Clark University, I took up the matter again, more and more convinced of its great importance. On the 10th of December, 1890, a paper was read before the Biological Club of the University: "Ideas on the origin of the Galápagos Islands and the origin of species." A trial to interest Clark University failed, however. Later on I spoke about the importance of the expedition at Boston, New York and Princeton. Everywhere I found great interest, but it seemed impossible to bring together the necessary funds. At last I sent my paper to the printers. At that moment, Mr. Stephen Salisbury came forward and offered a sum which seemed large enough, with other amounts contributed by the Elizabeth Thompson Fund of Boston and my friend Prof. H. F. Osborn, to secure the success of an expedition. In Mr. C. F. Adams of Champaign, Ill., who had great experience through his collecting trips in Borneo and New Zealand, I found a most useful companion. We left New York on the *City of Para*,

on which steamer, through the great courtesy of Mr. George J. Gould, we had received free passage. We arrived at Panama, May 9th, and at Guayaquil, May 13th, but it was not before June 1st that we could leave Guayaquil for the islands on a small sloop. Chatham, the most eastern of the islands and the only one inhabited, was reached in the evening of June 9th. Mr. Manuel Cobos has established there an extensive sugar plantation with great success. Besides coffee, many other tropical fruits are cultivated. Wild cattle exist there in abundance as in some of the other islands. We remained at Chatham, making extensive collections, until one of Mr. Cobos's sloops arrived from Guayaquil. This was engaged, and on June 27th, we left Chatham to visit the other islands. The rent we had to pay for the sloop was higher than anticipated; and I have again to acknowledge the liberality of Mr. Salisbury and Mr. Gould, without which the successful accomplishment of the expedition would have been impossible. During the two months following, all the islands south of the equator with the exception of Narborough, were visited. It was intended on the second trip to examine the other islands, but unfortunately this plan could not be carried out completely. When we reached Chatham, I found news from home necessitating an immediate return. Therefore only Tower, Bindloe and Abingdon were visited. Wenman and Culpepper, two small, rocky islands to the northwest were not touched at. Notwithstanding the programme could not be followed entirely, the expedition proved to be a great success. The collections made are the most extensive. I may mention for instance, that on Albemarle, where so far only four species of birds had been collected, more than forty were obtained. Animals which had not been found since Darwin's visit in 1835 were again secured. A peculiar gull which had been considered exceedingly rare, only five specimens being in existence in all the museums of the world, was found to be quite common, and to show a very

much more extensive distribution than was supposed. Of the gigantic tortoises, a large collection was made, notwithstanding the many hardships which were experienced. Some of these tortoises had a weight of more than four hundred pounds; one of them is the largest ever carried from the islands, so far as I know, the carapace having a length of four feet in straight line.

The collections and observations made on the islands seem to prove without doubt, that the opinion of the continental origin of the islands is the correct one. These volcanic islands are nothing but the tops of volcanic mountains of a greater area of land, which has sunken below the level of the ocean. This is proved by the absolutely harmonious distribution of the organisms. We do not find the same animals on the islands, but nearly every island has its own races. This important fact was for the first time noted by David Porter, who pointed out that the different islands contain different races of the tortoise. This view was fully supported by Darwin, who states that the inhabitants of Charles Island could tell from the aspect of the tortoise from which particular island it came. The same is true for many of the land birds, for the lizards, the land shells, and for some of the insects.

Now let us suppose for a moment, that the opinion generally believed to-day, that the Galápagos are oceanic islands lifted out of the ocean, is correct. In this case there must have been a time when not a single organism existed on the islands. Only by accidental introduction from some other part of the earth could the islands be populated; but on such a supposition we are absolutely unable to explain the harmonious distribution, we cannot explain why every, or nearly every, island has its peculiar race or species, not represented on any other island. If some animals could be carried over hundreds of miles to the islands, why are they not carried from one island to the other? But besides that, how could we make plain the

presence of such peculiar forms as the gigantic land-tortoises for instance? According to the elevation theory, we can only think of an accidental importation of these tortoises by some current, because they are unable to swim. After the islands had been elevated out of the sea, it happened once, by a peculiar accident, that a land-tortoise was carried over. Alone it could not propagate. This was only possible after a similar accident imported another specimen of *the same species, of the other sex, to the same island*. Or we could imagine that at the same time animals of both sexes were thus accidentally introduced. By this we could at least explain the population of a single island. But how did all the other islands become populated? To explain this we would have to invoke a thousand accidents.

The most simple solution is given by the theory of subsidence, however. All the islands were formerly connected with each other, forming a single large island; subsidence kept on and the single island was divided up into several islands. Every island developed, in the course of long periods, its peculiar races, because the conditions on these different islands were not absolutely identical.

That it has been made probable, that the Galápagos are of continental origin, I consider one of the most important results of the expedition. If the Galápagos originated through subsidence, we can believe the same of the Sandwich Islands, which also show harmony in the distribution of their organisms. It is not at all improbable that formerly large continental areas spread where we find to-day the Pacific Ocean; that an Atlantis, a Lemuria, so often demurred at, existed after all. New, extensive and methodical explorations of the different groups of islands in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which have to be made, will be able to decide this interesting question.

Another great result will, I feel certain, come to light after the collections have been fully worked up. The change of the species can be followed, stage by stage, on

the different islands; so far as I can anticipate, it will be shown that variation goes on in definite lines determined by the surroundings; that the surroundings and time are the most important and principal factors of variation, and that *natural selection* plays only a secondary role, and very often none at all.

WILLIAM LINCOLN.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

IT has been the good fortune of this Society, through the four-score years of its existence, that at every period in its history there has been at least one man who stood forward to render such service as should best promote its interests. Our founder gave his valuable collection of books and newspapers as a nucleus for the library, and bestowed upon us the first library-building as a depository for its treasures and such accretions as it should receive in following years; finally crowning his frequent benefactions with rich bequests for its maintenance and perpetuation. In later years, the work has been well kept up; now by those who were diligent and unwearying in gleaning from every field the choicest grains, to be garnered in the magazine; now by those whose intelligent munificence has builded a newer and a larger storehouse, or has furnished the means to employ skilful reapers, or to increase the gathered harvest. Prominent among those to whom the Society must ever be indebted, stands the name of William Lincoln, who gave it his unintermitted attention during his all-too-brief a lifetime.

Mr. Lincoln was the brother, and by twenty years the junior, of the Hon. Levi Lincoln, long a Councillor of the Society. Born at Worcester, on September 26, 1802, he was the seventh and youngest child of that Levi Lincoln who, coming to Worcester in December, 1775, was at once appointed Clerk of the courts which had then just been re-opened, was for four years Judge of Probate, was

a member of the Legislature and State Senator, a Representative in Congress, Attorney-General of the United States under President Jefferson, and Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth in 1807 and 1808. On the death of Governor Sullivan, in 1808, he acted as Governor for the remainder of the term. In 1811, he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, by President Madison, who accompanied the notice of his appointment with a letter of the most flattering nature. A growing weakness of vision compelled him to decline the high honor, and indeed, to give up all active professional duties. A few years of rest, however, brought back his eyesight in some measure, and he was able to give his personal attention to fitting the subject of this sketch for admission to advanced standing at college. The mother of William Lincoln was Martha Waldo, daughter of Daniel Waldo, a Boston merchant of high character, who, after a temporary sojourn in Lancaster, removed to Worcester in 1782.

William Lincoln joined the junior class at Harvard College in 1820, graduating in 1822. He at once began the study of law with his elder brother, Levi Lincoln, Jr., and the latter's partner, John Davis, and was admitted to the Worcester bar in 1825. He joined the American Antiquarian Society in the same year, and served it as Librarian, as Corresponding Secretary, and Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, and as a member of the Committee of Publication.

On the shelves of this Society is a pamphlet giving an oration by "Master William Lincoln," delivered July 4, 1816, "in commemoration of American Independence, before an assembly of youth." Master Lincoln was a mere youth at that time, for he was but fourteen years and one month of age. This is a most remarkable pamphlet, exhibiting a considerable acquaintance with history, and an exceptional maturity of intellect. Eight years later, while a

student at law, he was called to deliver the address at the municipal celebration of the same anniversary. The custom of holding such a celebration was followed, almost annually, in Worcester for some sixty years beginning with 1791. In the same year in which he joined this Society, 1825, he established, with Mr. Christopher C. Baldwin, the *Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal*. This was intended to contain a particular history of each town in the County. Historical notices of eight towns and a general view of the County were furnished by various writers, but the publication was suspended after seventeen months, for want of support by the community.¹ The Worcester County Athenæum was incorporated March 12, 1830, on the plan and with the same objects as those of the Athenæum at Boston. Over 3,000 volumes were collected, which were stored in a room of Antiquarian Hall, and finally became merged in the library of this Society. Mr. Lincoln was Secretary of the organization. Mr. Lincoln delivered the annual address before the Worcester Agricultural Society at their fair in the autumn of 1829. On the death of Isaac Goodwin in 1832, Mr. Lincoln was chosen in his stead as Secretary of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, an office which he faithfully filled for eleven years.

It was a pleasant custom for some twenty years in Worcester, inaugurated by the Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft, for the children of the public schools, on a certain day in April, to repair to some church in the village and listen to an address, suited to their capacity and their needs, delivered by some gentleman of scholarly ability. Such an

¹ The Manuscript Diary of Librarian Baldwin has the following entry:—

"Feb. 10, 1830. In the evening settled with William Lincoln, Esq.: adjusting the concerns of our partnership which was formed in 1825 in the editor and proprietorship of the *Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal*. We lose our labor and much money besides."

Disgusted with the lack of appreciation of the work, the writer adds:—"I believe in the doctrine of total depravity."

address was given by Mr. Lincoln, in the spring of 1836. In 1838, he was appointed a trustee of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, succeeding his friend Edward D. Bangs, Esq. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He represented his native town in the Legislature from 1835 to 1840 inclusive, and was a prominent member thereof.

The history and services of the *Massachusetts Spy*, founded by Isaiah Thomas, and still published in Worcester, are familiar to the members of this Society. Mr. Lincoln gave his services for several years to another weekly newspaper in Worcester, which was always conducted with marked ability. The first number of the *National Aegis*, established in support of the views and policy of President Jefferson, appeared on December 2, 1801. It was originated by Francis Blake, a most gifted gentleman, and was for a long time remarkable for the large amount of original matter which it published from the pens of its editors and many of the ablest writers of the county. Its editors from 1801 to 1846 were: Francis Blake, Edward Bangs, Levi Lincoln, *Samuel Brazier*, *William C. White*, Enoch Lincoln, Edward D. Bangs, Pliny Merrick, William Lincoln, Christopher C. Baldwin, *William N. Green*, Samuel F. Haven and Alexander H. Bullock. Of these thirteen gentlemen all were members of this Society save three (whose names are printed in italics). William Lincoln and Messrs. Haven and Bullock all filled the editorial chair for two terms of service. During Mr. Lincoln's second term, from January, 1838, until the latter part of 1840, being a member of the State Legislature, he gave a weekly review of its proceedings in an intelligible and interesting form. Each number of the *Aegis* also contained a column of "historical collections," specially compiled for the paper. The literary and poetical selections were of a high order. The editorial articles were able and dignified, often keen but never malignant nor abusive.

The great work of Mr. Lincoln's life was the history of his native town of Worcester, which appeared from the press as an octavo volume of three hundred and eighty-four pages, early in the year 1837. It was dedicated to his beloved pastor, the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D. To accomplish his object, said the preface, "the files and records of the colonial and provincial governments, of the original proprietors of the town and its parishes, churches and societies, of the county courts and registries, and the series of newspapers from the commencement, have been examined; private journals and papers, the recollections of the aged inhabitants, the treasures of the garrets, and the knowledge of the race in active life, have been collected, with some labor." So thorough and faithful was the labor that very little was left for other gleaners in the same field; and while some historical students have found considerable matter that is of interest on special lines, such general histories of the town and city as have since been hastily written, have adopted or adapted Mr. Lincoln's work for the period which it covers.

A Resolve of the State Legislature, passed March 10, 1837, authorized the Governor to procure the publication "of the Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, with such papers connected therewith as illustrate the patriotic exertions of the people of the State in the Revolutionary contest." Mr. Lincoln was appointed by Governor Everett to carry this resolve into effect, and at once devoted himself to the congenial task. To perfect the work, he sent circulars through the Commonwealth, asking for suitable materials, and especially for copies of the Instructions to the Representatives in the General Court in 1774, and to the Delegates in each Provincial Congress; names of the Delegates in the Provincial Congress, and notices of the life and character of each; copies of notes and proceedings relating to public measures previous to the War of the Revolution, and during that contest;

names of the several Committees of Correspondence and of Safety, or Inspection, in the town or county ; copies of the votes of the town relating to the Declaration of Independence, under the Resolve of the General Court, May 10, 1776 ; and especially for the original records of the conventions held by the Committees of Correspondence. The circular stated that the copies or original papers which might be furnished would be finally deposited in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, unless their return was desired by the senders. A considerable mass of the material received in response to the circular, is now stored in our library. The published volume, of 738 pages, appeared in 1838, with the title : "The Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775, and of the Committee of Safety. With an Appendix containing the Proceedings of the County Conventions—Narratives of the Events of the 19th of April, 1775—Papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point ; and other documents illustrative of the early history of the American Revolution." It is safe to say that much of the matter thus collected would have been destroyed ere now, but for the wisdom of the Legislature in its original action, and the good judgment of Governor Everett in his appointment of the agent to carry it into effect. And it is very probable that the idea of inaugurating the work originated in the mind of Mr. Lincoln himself.

It has been shown that Mr. Lincoln was connected with many societies and institutions. It is the testimony of his contemporaries that in all these he wielded a laboring oar. He was interested in their objects, and his active temperament made him useful and conspicuous in furtherance of the end to be accomplished. As a gentleman farmer, the Agricultural Society appealed to his sympathy, and his pen and his presence added much to the attractiveness of the annual exhibitions. For several years, he was chairman of the judges of swine, and his reports were crisp and

luscious as the choicest bits which those animals furnish for the table.¹

¹ We give some extracts from these reports, copied from the files of the *National Agis*:—

Massachusetts is a glorious commonwealth. Her renown heretofore has been wreathed with the valor of her warriors, the wisdom of her statesmen, and the worth of her citizens. If hereafter, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, patriotism shall grow faint, and public and private virtue become impaired, the fame of our own beloved state may rest secure on the greatness of her pigs; and the lustre of her people, if unhappily it grows dim, be rekindled by the solid excellence of the inmates of the pens. . . .

In approaching the pleasant society of females, the loveliness of form and feature, sometimes leads admiration away from the handsomeness of doings to the grace of beings. The incorruptibleness of the court permitted no such seduction. The sow of Messrs. J. G. & D. H. Perry appeared before them with ten "sweet pledges" of maternal affection, frolicking merrily, and taking the young responsibility of feeding plentifully. The venerable matron, mother of this decimal family of suckers, who played over and around her, of the greatest boar of the festival, and of another troop of chubby, white-haired children, was thrice blessed in being worthy of the first premium of five dollars. The second premium was awarded to Mr. Aaron Howe of Worcester, for a sow, beginning life by acquiring the rudiments of good breeding in Holden, and subsequently gaining legal settlement in Worcester. . . .

The excellence of the State Lunatic Hospital is known wherever the name of the best charity of our government has been heard. Its works in pork were exhibited in three splendid editions, an octavo set which had been kept five months; four thick quartos, six months and ten days old, and a series of gigantic volumes of fat. The swine belonging to the institution appeared to be perfectly rational, and of sound sense, and clear memory. Eight of them in one vast brood, gave examples of the results of good treatment, a ton-and-a-half in weight. They resembled independent sub-treasury depositaries. When they stood, they lied; for they could not stand: they could scarcely sit; if they endeavored to place themselves upright in one direction, by an easy transition they revolved into another equally perpendicular. There were no objects bearing comparison with their huge dimensions except the vegetables transplanted from Wethersfield, celebrated in Morse's Geography as the paradise of beauty and of onions, by Dr. Woodward, whose unrivalled skill not only restores to the disordered and enfeebled mind its healthful action and vigor, but gives to the earth he cultivates, new powers of production. While the mouths of our committee have watered at the prospect of the living barrels of food in the pens, the eyes of another have doubtless been moistened in contemplating the odoriferous roots which have graced the hall. It was gratifying to know the patriotic spirit which animated the vast delegation of swine from the hospital. With a promptitude worthy of all approbation, they took measures to reach their appointed place the day before the fair. How the journey was performed is not known: to have rolled over the distance would have been the easiest mode of locomotion for shapes as deep as broad, as broad as long. Loosening the green earth, around; on their arrival, they stretched themselves on its feathery pillow to rest. The chairman, moved with deep anxiety for their repose, viewed them by lantern at midnight,

Mr. Lincoln was never married. His boyhood was spent in the paternal home on a part of the estate once owned by Samuel Hancock, and by John Hancock, which his father purchased in 1781. The son succeeded to the ownership of this estate, and found the highest delight in adorning and beautifying the tract of some half-dozen acres immediately about the mansion-house. Here were planted the choicest flowers and the rarest trees. A beautiful pond, which has since been filled by the road-bed of a railroad, added to the beauty of the scene, and on its surface floated

when they slept in the silver beams of the moon, like small mountains covered with snow. The music of their dreams floated as softly on the air as the melodies of Mr. Frank Johnson's celebrated band, which has poured its sweet notes of hand on the ears of Queen Victoria. Nothing could alloy such happiness except the sad deprivation of the privilege of becoming members of the society and participating in its agreeable exercises. It has always been difficult to conceive how one pig could look another in the face without laughing from reflected enjoyment. These creatures had no faces to look at, the chief extremity, absorbed by the body, was only distinguishable from the termination which follows in the footsteps of its predecessor, by a delicate, white projection appearing as the representative of its absent constituent the snout. . . .

One of the most lively writers of American sketches, in whose hand charcoal marks white, exclaims, "I wish I was a pig: there's some sense in being a pig that's fat: pigs are decent behaved people and good citizens, though they have no votes." No considerate spectator of the calm content and philosophical repose of the inmates of the pens could refuse to respond with heartfelt sincerity to such reasonable wish and opinions. Pigs do not buy lands, nor build houses, nor pay taxes, nor have bills left with the attorney for collection, nor subject themselves to the caprice of any court except that of the judges of swine. They are not abused for owning bank shares, nor obliged to borrow money to support those who denounce them. They never burst their boilers, nor have messengers sent under an assignment process to confiscate their estates to defray the costs of settling them. Pigs are above being politicians. No hog of respectability was ever heard to express an opinion on the sub-treasury system or to commit himself in relation to the vexed question of the license laws. Nor has it been ever known that a pig has reversed the aspiration of happiness already quoted, by praying that he might be a man. There is no comparison between pigdom and manhood,—*National Aegis*, Oct. 24, 1838.

A delegation from the Court soon after their appointment, proceeded on a mission to examine the condition of the swine in other regions. They found that the hog was treated with highest consideration in the Empire State. He was permitted to frequent the principal places of resort in the Commercial Emporium, and in the cities, towns, and villages of New York. There he attended lectures and political meetings, went down into cellars, ascended the steps of the palaces of merchants, and visited the homes of the husbandman.

a canoe of birch-bark, in which Mr. Lincoln took pleasure in giving his friends a ride. The writer of this sketch remembers having been led more than once by an elder brother to see "Lincoln's Garden," as the place was called; and the surpassing beauty of the scene, and the kindly greeting of the "lord of the manor" produced an impression upon the mind of the child which is still fresh in the recollection. The mansion-house was occupied for several years by the Hon. John Davis, before he built a residence nearly opposite, and Mr. Lincoln lived as a boarder in Mr. Davis's family. The house was removed from the estate some forty years ago, and still stands upon its modern site, only a few rods north from the hall of this Society.

Mr. Lincoln was of medium height, probably about the same as that of his brother Enoch, to whom the chroniclers ascribed a stature of five feet and seven inches. His frame was well knit, his gait was sprightly, his eye was keen and twinkling, and his manner both dignified and affable. He was very sociable in his nature, and warm in his friendships. He attached himself to men who could appreciate

Like other free and independent citizens he was given to hospitality, and cultivated acquaintance with strangers by overturning them into the mud, so as to engage closer intimacy. His legs, a world too long, were imitated from the red deer; his dark body, two worlds too lank, seemed to have been whetted on the new invented revolving patent metallic razor grind-stone. The long crow-bar shaped nose formed a convenient implement for throwing up stones or throwing down walls. Looking like a greyhound on stilts, he was so fleet that the fever and ague could not overtake and shake him in a fair chase, and so thin that his shadow could not keep up with him in the race. The hog of Ohio, more dignified, reclined his colossal form beneath the Buckeye tree and refreshed his appetite with the fruits showered down from the forests. In Illinois, the beautiful prairies swarmed with legions of swine. There, where earth, rolling into waves of verdure, expands in seas of green, the pigs cropped the fairest flowers for their feasts, and reposed, when weary, beneath bowers festooned with the crimson drapery of the creeper, and gathered for their couches blossoms as rich and rare as those which bent to the breezes which swept over Eden. There is neither time nor space now afforded for describing that which is indescribable. The comparison led to the conclusion:— That a New England pig, well provided with means of support, and in good condition and comfortable circumstances, had better hold fast by the pens of the descendants of the Puritans, than to devote life, fortune, and honor to a pilgrimage towards the Paradise of the West.—*National Egis*, Nov. 10, 1841.

him and at the same time contribute their share of improving conversation. He was especially intimate with Librarian Christopher C. Baldwin, and the diary of the latter gentleman is full of allusions to occasions on which they met. That which we call "society" as it existed in Worcester up to the middle of this century, if we consider both its quality and its proportion to the whole population of the place, was unsurpassed by that of any town west of Boston; and in this charming circle Mr. Lincoln held a conspicuous place. At the tea-table and the evening party he was a welcome and a lively guest.

While the History of Worcester will always stand forth as the monument of Mr. Lincoln, it is to be regretted that few of his fugitive addresses and poems (of which it is known that he wrote some) are now extant. A great part of his miscellaneous literary work has been lost, and chiefly, perhaps, because it was never reduced to writing by himself. Among the manuscript papers in his handwriting which have come into the possession of this Society are found what appears to be a quite complete record of his legal practice, with memoranda of the points upon which he based his pleas to the court and jury. There are full notes taken while in college, of Professor Ticknor's lectures on French and Spanish literature, and Professor Edward Everett's lectures upon Greek. As the work of his later life, we find a Lyceum lecture on Cemeteries, also his Fourth of July address, delivered at Worcester, in 1831, and repeated at New Worcester, then a village in the outskirts of the town, in 1839.

Among his papers we find some attempts at a diary, kept for a short time in his college course, but it was not until after the death of his friend Baldwin, when the carefully kept journal of the latter came into his custody, that he made daily entries that are of interest. We give a few extracts from these sheets, which throw light upon the character of the man:—

"*November 1, 1835.* I was principally occupied to-day in looking over the papers of Isaac Goodwin, Esq., which were placed in my hands for the purpose of settling his estate. They were kept in a very confused manner, and it is very difficult to find documents which are wanted.

"Many persons suffer pecuniary loss and perhaps injury to reputation from want of care in the preservation of papers, and those which are kept, from want of correct and methodical arrangement are useless to those who own them as well as to others who may become interested. I endeavor myself to be attentive to this matter, but I fear if I should be removed that many valuable papers would be lost in the immense mass of documents in my possession, for want of understanding the system I have adopted.

"*Nov. 2.* During the year past, I have made great improvements on my land. The old barns have been removed and a new one of excellent construction built. A new house built for G. W. Richardson on the street. The garden has been extended, new walks made and planted, the ground levelled, and the whole brought into a condition of great beauty. I have labored, year after year, to render the home which my father had so much ornamented a fair spot: altho' the plan is not yet perfected, it will require but few years to give height to the trees and render most of the ground elegant.

"*Nov. 6.* The love of plants is with me a deeply fixed passion. Altho' at times I grow indifferent to the garden, yet the interest revives whenever I can work or wander about the walks. I have no higher enjoyment than to plant trees unless it be to contemplate the growth. It is pleasant to consider that they will stand in the beauty of their maturity long after the hand that set them shall be perished, and altho' other generations with that tone of innovation which they will call desire of improvement may hew them away, they will acknowledge the correctness of the taste that planted even while the axe is laid at the root.

"*Nov. 7.* Dined with Stephen Salisbury, Esq., whose wedding I attended at Charlestown, N. H., two years ago this day. His wife's maiden name was Rebecca Dean, daughter of Aaron Dean of Charlestown. I 'stood up,' as it is termed, as Bride's-man, at the wedding.

"In the evening, I was nominated by the Whig party as candidate for Representative in the General Court. I was

also nominated by the Jackson men on their ticket. But their vote was afterwards reconsidered and a list of exclusive administration candidates put up. There is so much division in reference to politics, parishes, temperance and other circumstances that the election will be very doubtful.

"*Nov. 8.* I have never sought for office in the manner in which others have courted the favor of the people. I have seldom attended caucuses or town meetings, and have never hesitated to adopt a course of conduct because I supposed it would be unpopular. Office, if it comes, will be as much unsolicited in fact as it is often said to be by those who attain it by great exertion.

"*Jan. 1, 1841.* On the beginning of the year, I look backward. Whatever wrong has been done to me I forgive; whatever wrong I have done to others, I repent, and will endeavor to make reparation; the bad habits in which I may have indulged, I will attempt to reform, and I resolve that life during the coming year shall be as pure in motive and as upright in action, as it is possible for human resolution to accomplish."

Mr. Lincoln was never in sympathy with the attempt to punish or prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor. But the so-called "Washingtonian Movement," which substituted moral suasion for legal penalties for the dealers, and inculcated abstinence on the part of the people, received his hearty support. He enlisted, all too late, in the cause, and left behind an able and earnest temperance address, which he delivered, in the winter of 1842-3, at Lancaster, Worcester, Sterling, Holden and Fitchburg. It must have been at some social temperance gathering in Worcester that he made the following response to a toast to his fraternity:—

"MR. CHAIRMAN.—The sentiment which has just been given contains some allusion to the fraternity of Old Bachelors. As I believe I am the only representative of that ancient and honorable body at this board, I venture in their behalf to return their grateful acknowledgments for the distinguished honor which has been done to them and to express their thanks for the very flattering manner in which the company have received the complimentary notice.

"I described myself as being the representative of the body alluded to. That was a mistake. I believe that I am the body itself, and you will see how small it is. Yes sir, I am the last of the Mohicans. There are no old bachelors now; they have gone out to temperance meetings and have found themselves surrounded by such fair faces and bright eyes that they have taken the pledge of matrimony, and I only am left to tell the story. Formerly there was a goodly company of these good-natured! harmless animals, but they have disappeared as rapidly as if our wise legislature had put them into the act concerning crows, blackbirds and other vermin, and offered a bounty for their heads.

"I mourn, sir, with a sorrow which scarcely knows consolation, over the extermination of this amiable race. They will be missed in this community. Justice was never done to their wants. They were exceedingly useful. They would hold a skein of thread for the ladies, take care of the children when the mother went out to pick up some pleasant scandal, and run of errands for anybody. But they are gone, as the poet almost says:—

"Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,—
A breath may make them as a breath has made;
But a bold bachel'dry, their country's pride,
If once destroyed can never be supplied."

Mr. Lincoln died at the residence of his brother-in-law and law partner, the Hon. Rejoice Newton, on the 5th of October, 1843. He was buried in "Rural Cemetery," a lovely spot near the confines of his ancestral acres, in the establishment and adornment of which he had taken a special interest. It is difficult to persuade oneself, in contemplating the great amount of labor which the man performed, the wide influence which he exerted, and the impress which he left upon his native town and its institutions, that so much was crowded into a life whose span was but a few days more than forty-one years.

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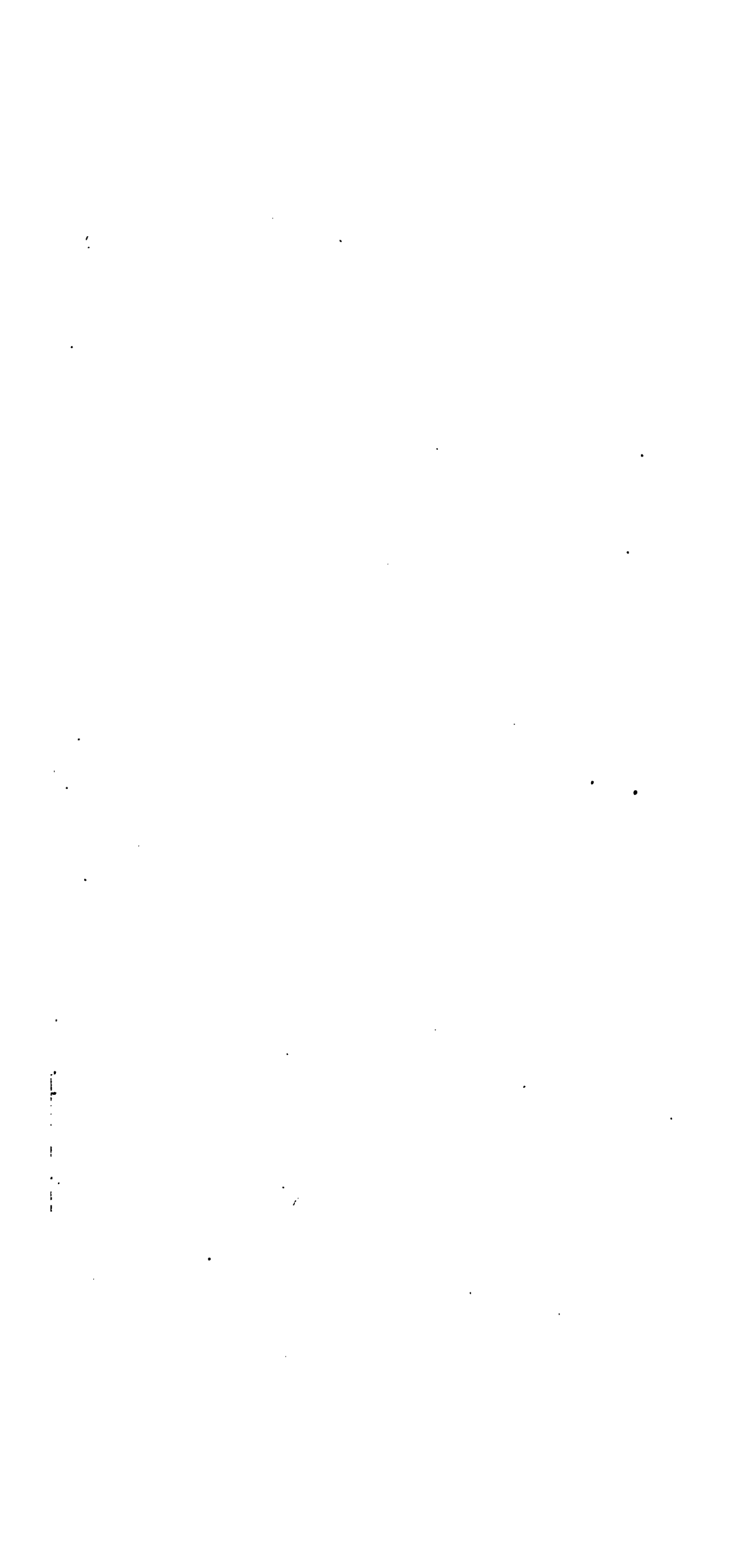
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